

116

A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF MBEMBE (ADUN DIALECT)-  
A CROSS RIVER LANGUAGE

Thesis  
submitted for the  
degree of  
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by

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## Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to present a description of the phonology and grammar of the Mbembe language of the Cross River area of Nigeria.

Chapter 1 gives a brief general introduction to the Mbembe language and people and outlines the theoretical basis of the description. It includes a summary of the units of the phonological and grammatical hierarchies. The final section highlights some of the distinctive characteristics of the language with some comments on their interpretation.

Chapter 2 describes the phonological hierarchy, focussing primarily on the syllable-piece, and discussing congruence between phonological and grammatical units.

Chapter 3 describes the lexical and grammatical functions of tone in the language. There are two discrete tone levels with downstep.

Chapter 4 is a brief description of patterning above the sentence, intended to provide a setting to illustrate the function of the sentence. Chapters 5-9 describe the sentence, clause, verbal group, nominal phrase and word units of the grammatical hierarchy respectively, presenting classes at each rank in terms of a system network relating the features relevant to that class and statements showing the realization of these features in structure. At clause rank the interrelation of the mood, transitivity and theme components is discussed in more detail. Chapter 9 concludes with a chart summarizing the constituents of the structure of each class and also the functions of each class. The chart also gives cross references to the inventory of closed morpheme classes.

Mbembe may be loosely classified as semi-Bantu. Chapter 10 describes the concord-class system of the language.

The thesis concludes with some sample texts.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank my supervisor, Professor M.A.K. Halliday, for his patient and perceptive help in the writing of this thesis. I have learnt much through the stimulus of his theoretical viewpoint and through his practical approach to specific language problems.

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Most of my early training in linguistics I received through the Summer Institute of Linguistics and I have deeply appreciated the friendship and help of SIL colleagues. In particular I am indebted to Dr. John Bendor-Samuel, Director of the West Africa branch of SIL, and to Dr. and Mrs. John Callow. Material for this thesis was gathered while I was working under the West Africa branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in cooperation with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

I am especially grateful to Miss Patricia Revill, with whom I lived in the Mbembe area for three years. Without her friendship and encouragement this thesis would never have been completed.

Many Mbembe friends have also contributed, knowingly or unknowingly. I am thankful not only for their help in learning and analysing the language, but also for their warm-hearted welcome and for their generosity and tolerance. In particular I should like to thank Mr. E. Oyama and Mr. E. Ogbinji of Ovat, Mr. Egor Oyama and Mr. Odoma Enyam of Ovonum, Mr. Lawrence Ebak of Appiapum and Mr. I. Agbor of Iyamayong, and also the clan chiefs of Adun, Okom, Osopong and Ofombonga.





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## SYMBOLIZATION

Except when indicated all examples are written phonemically. The phonetic manifestation of phoneme units is described in 2.6. Symbols are used as in IPA with the following exceptions:

p	voiceless	}	bilabial fricative	= IPA	{	Φ β
b	voiced					
y	palatal semi-vowel					j
c	voiceless	}	alveo-palatal affricate	= IPA	{	tʃ dʒ
j	voiced					
ɲ	palatal nasal			= IPA		ɲ
ʈ	k	kp	ɖ	f	consonants with fortis articulation in phonemic contrast with corresponding lenis consonants	
ɔ	back open rounded vowel			= IPA		ɔ
ə	is used to mark open transition					

Tone symbols are discussed on page 65.

### Boundary symbols:

- . marks the boundary between syllable-piece units within the word-piece (used in chapter 2 and 3 only)
- marks morpheme boundaries within the word. Morpheme boundaries are marked only where relevant.
- /// marks the end of a sentence unit
- / marks a phonological pause, also the end of an intonation contour

### Underlining

Solid underlining \_\_\_\_\_ is used in examples to indicate the item under focus when it is given in its larger context. Underlining is not used when no context is given. Broken lines \_ \_ \_ \_ indicate the extent of a down ranked unit, including the relative clause, and double broken lines ==== to show the extent of units functioning in linear recursive relation.

Abbreviations are listed on page 314.

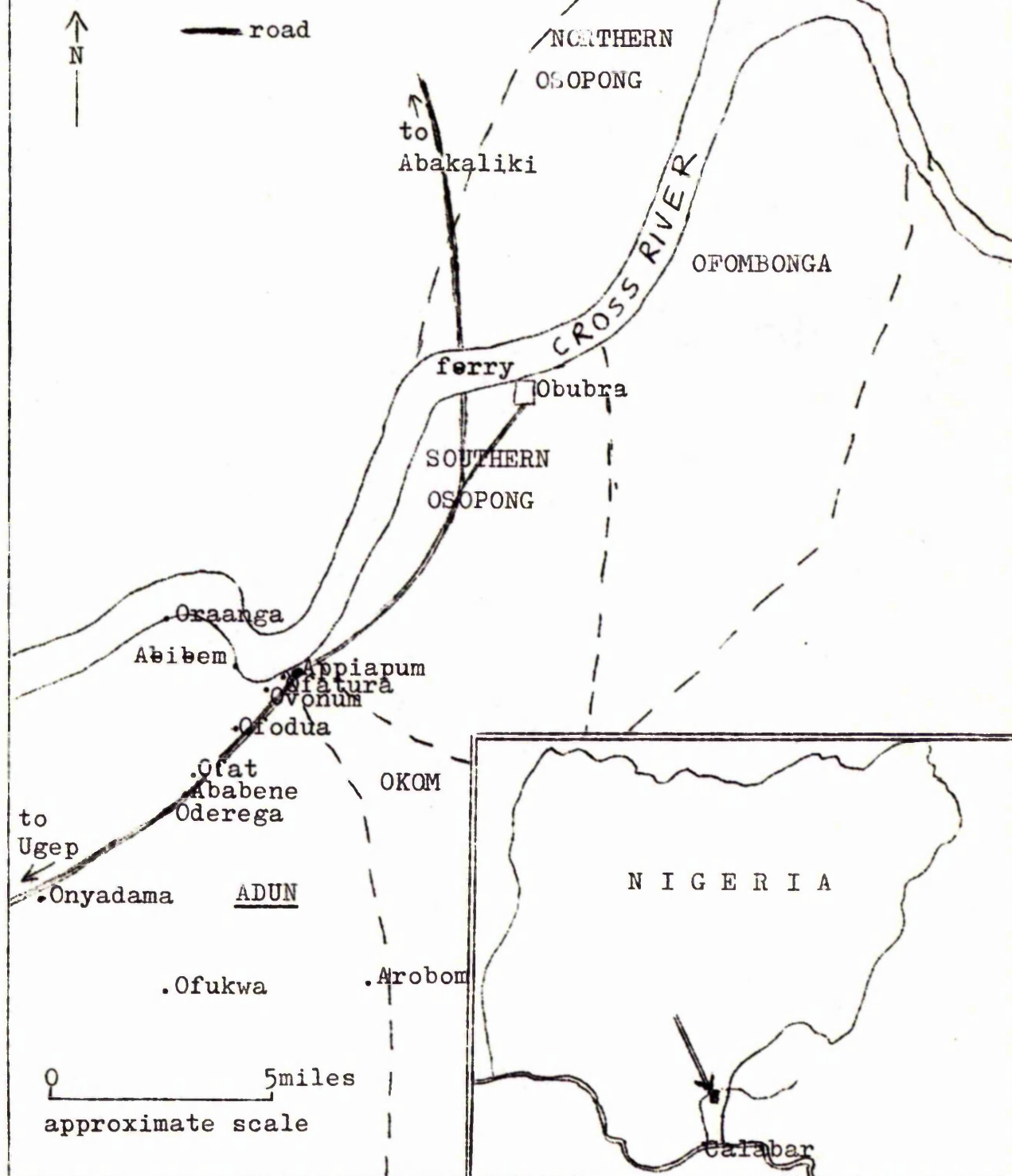
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Sketch map of the Mbembe area  
showing the main clan divisions  
and the approximate position  
of the major Adun villages



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 The Mbembe Language and People

The Mbembe language is spoken by approximately 40,000 people in the Obubra division, Abakaliki province, of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria (see map p.10). This area is now included in the South East State of Nigeria.

Neighbouring languages are loKö (Yakö)<sup>1</sup>, leGbo (Agbo) and Asiga to the west, kuKele (Ukelle), Ekajuk (Akajuk), Nnam, Nselle, Nta (Atam), Iyala and Ofutop to the north and east.

The Mbembe language of Obubra division is not mentioned by Greenberg in his classification of African languages but should almost certainly be included under the Cross River 3 section of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo language family (Niger-Congo 5.C.3) cf. Greenberg 1963 p.9<sup>2</sup>.

Following a survey of Eastern Nigerian languages in 1957-8 F.D.D. Winston classifies Mbembe (eMbembe) in the 'Middle Cross River' group, thus grouping it with Asiga, leGbo, loKö, Ikom-Olulumo and loKöli, in contrast to the 'Lower Cross River' group which comprises hoHumono (Bahumunu, Ekumuru), Abayongo (Erei, Abayong), oRum (Adim), oBini (Abini), agwaGwune (Akunakuna), Ubaghara, Amön, uKpet (Akpét), also kÖriñ (Orri) and kuKele. cf. Winston 1963, also 1965 pp.124-5. The latter reference is a comment on Koelle's Polyglotta Africana, first published in 1854, in which a dialect of Mbembe is represented under the name Jka:m. Other references to the classification of Mbembe include Johnston 1919 p.714, 1922 pp.166-173, Talbot 1926 pp.86-96, Westermann and Bryan 1952 p.116.

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1. Names given in brackets are alternative names which have been used for the language, often the name for the people speaking the language.

2. For details of all bibliographical references cf. pp. 312,3.



The name MBEMBE is not commonly used by the people in reference to themselves. They refer to themselves in terms of the clan names of the four major clans which constitute the tribe. Figures recorded in the 1953 census for these clans are:

Adun [àdón]	12,142
Osopong [òsópàṅ]	10,795
Okom [ókòm]	9,966
Ofombonga [òbòmbó'ṅá]	3,243

Distinct dialect differences exist between and within these clans. The present description is based on the ADUN dialect.

The population of the Mbembe clans is centred in fairly sizable and compact villages, many of them built along the banks of the Cross River. The primary occupation is yam farming, yams being the staple food and also the chief cash crop. Cassava is also important and the making of garri is a local home industry.

Until comparatively recently the Cross River has been the main trading route. Cultural, educational and religious influences have therefore come mainly from the Efik people in the Calabar area and Efik is the trade language of the area. A high proportion of teachers in the primary schools and of government officials are Efik. Efik is the initial medium of instruction in the Presbyterian primary schools. A number of Efik loan words have been absorbed into the language. However later education and most official business is conducted in English and there are also some English loan words, some of which may have been borrowed via Efik.

Within the last two decades a tarred road and ferry have been built, linking the majority of the Mbembe villages, on the south bank of the Cross River, with the rest of the country. Cocoa and rubber plantations and a timber mill have already been established, bringing many non-Mbembe workers into the area.

Anthropological research has been conducted among the Mbembe, mainly by Dr. Rosemary Harris of University College London. cf. Harris 1965 The Political Organization of the Mbembe, Nigeria. Except for classificatory surveys, referred to in the early paragraphs of this section, there has not, to my knowledge, been any previous description of the language.

## 1.2 The Present Study

This description is based on a corpus of seventy-nine texts recorded and transcribed between April 1965 and March 1968 while I was living in the area, in the village of Ovonum, with my colleague, Miss Patricia Revill, and working under the auspices of the Institute of Linguistics, the West Africa branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, in cooperation with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Speakers from Ovonum, Ofat, Ofukwa, Onyadama, Abhibhem and Ofodua villages contributed texts to the corpus, which is of approximately five hours duration. All the above villages are in the Adun clan and there are only minor dialectal differences between them. Such differences are noted where relevant in the description. The texts include folk stories, descriptions of local customs and beliefs, historical accounts and some conversational material. Examples numbered consecutively throughout this thesis are drawn from this text material. Specimen texts are given in chapter 11.

A morpheme concordance of these texts made by computer at the University of Oklahoma Research Institute was of great assistance in the analysis. This project was made possible through a grant (no. GS-270) from the National Science Foundation.

### 1.3 The Theoretical Framework

The theory underlying this description is a modified version of the Systemic (System-structure) model formulated by Professor M.A.K. Halliday. cf. Bibliography: Halliday 1961, 1966a, 1966b, 1967-8, 1969, also Huddleston 1965, 1966 and Henrici 1966.

1.31 LEVELS OF LANGUAGE Following J.R. Firth, Halliday accounts for linguistic events at the levels of:

form (including grammar and lexis)  
 substance (either phonic or graphic)  
 situation

Form is related to substance and situation by the interlevels of phonology and context respectively. cf. Halliday 1961 p.244.

The present description is restricted to the grammatical and phonological levels. These two levels are comparable to Pike's grammatical and phonological hierarchies in Tagmemic theory.

1.32 RANK Phonology is concerned with linguistically significant patterning within the phonic substance, with the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of phonological units. Grammar is similarly concerned with the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of grammatical units. Separate hierarchies are postulated for the two levels. For Mbembe these are:

Phonological:	DISCOURSE	Grammatical:	DISCOURSE
	UTTERANCE		UTTERANCE
	P-SENTENCE		SENTENCE
	P-PHRASE		CLAUSE
	WORD-PIECE		PHRASE
	SYLLABLE-PIECE		GROUP
	PHONEME		WORD
			---MORPHEME-----

The two hierarchies are independent of each other, the units of each being separately defined, but at certain ranks there is congruence between phonological and grammatical units in that units from both hierarchies are expounded by the same phonic substance.

For example, the phonological radical syllable-piece (2.22) is congruent with the grammatical noun- and verb-root morpheme.

Units at each rank are in a constituency ('consists of') relation to units at other ranks within the level. Thus the P-phrase consists of word-piece units, the word-piece consists of syllable-piece units, and the syllable-piece consists of phonemes. In the standard form of the theory the hierarchy is a taxonomy, each unit consisting of units of the rank immediately below, with no upward rank shifting. The phonological hierarchy of Mbembe is a true hierarchy in this sense, also in that there is no recursion involved. However in the grammatical hierarchy it has proved convenient to diverge from strict taxonomic relationships in two ways:

i) In considering the constituent units of the clause, there is a dichotomy between the Nominal Phrase and the Verbal Group, which differ from each other both in function and structure, the difference of structure being so basic that there is no overlap in the membership of their constituent units, and indeed the constituent units of the Nominal Phrase and the Verbal Group are not directly comparable with each other. In reference to English Halliday comments: "...this unit (phrase/group) carries a fundamental 'class' division, so fundamental that it is useful to have two names for this unit in order to be able to talk about it:" (Halliday 1961 p.253). Day (1966 p.15) comments: "In Tho, as in English, there appears to be a class cleavage below the rank of the clause... Another feature which is similar to English is that when we consider the structure of the verbal group and the nominal phrase there is a great deal of 'in-breeding'. The verbal group consists of such word classes as auxiliaries and verbs, which cannot operate in nominal phrase structure."

In Mbembe, the Nominal Phrase divides neatly into word units, which further divide into morpheme units, but in the Verbal Group it is difficult to distinguish clearly between

word and morpheme ranks because there is a cline in degrees of boundness of the auxiliary items (7.03). For this reason no formal word rank is set up in the description of the Verbal Group.

A further reason for divergence in the hierarchy at this point is that it is necessary to postulate complex units (8.8) to describe the recursive structures of the Nominal Phrase, but no such complex units are relevant in the description of the Verbal Group.

There is also a difference in the phonological nature of the Nominal Phrase and the Verbal Group, especially with regard to tone. Within the Nominal Phrase tone contrasts have primarily a lexical function while in the Verbal Group their function is primarily grammatical (3.1).

ii) Some limited upward rank shifting is introduced where this avoids redundancy in the description. For example, the constituents of the clause include adverb word units (6.0, 6.32) functioning directly in the structure of the clause. Similarly, a Nominal Phrase in temporal relation functions directly as a constituent of the sentence (5.63).

1.33 CLASS Classes of units are set up on the basis of contrastive function in the structure of higher units. For example, all units which function as predicate of the clause are members of the class Verbal Group.

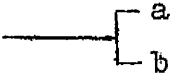
Where there is a high degree of overlap between the membership of two potential classes, only one class is set up, which will be described as having two (or more) functions. For example, the Nominal Phrase may function as subject, complement or adjunct in the clause. While function is the primary criterion of classification, the structure of the units involved is considered in uniting or dividing potential classes.

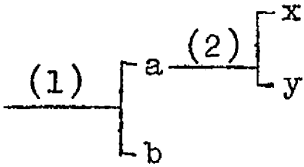
1.34 SYSTEM Every class is the point of origin of a system network which relates the features (properties) which are relevant to that class, that is, the meaningful contrasts which can be realized through the structure of that class. Features such as habitual or non-habitual, imperative or non-imperative are relevant to the Verbal Group, while the choices nominal or pronominal, +demonstrative or -demonstrative are relevant to the Nominal Phrase.

Features are arranged in systems such that each system is a set of mutually exclusive features, together with an entry condition which determines under what conditions these features apply. If the entry condition is satisfied, one (only one) of the features must be selected.

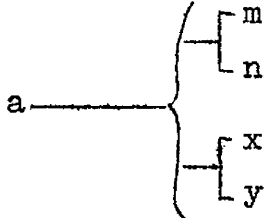
Systems are related in a system network. Systems may be simultaneous, so that a selection of features must be made from two or more systems at once. Alternatively, systems may be related through the scale of delicacy, where the entry condition to one system is the prior selection of a term(s) in another system, the second system being therefore dependent on the first and entailing a more detailed specification.

Notations showing the interrelation of systems in the network are summarized in the following extract from Halliday 1967 part 1 p.38:

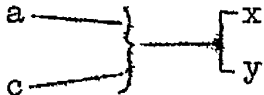
 there is a system of features a/b (either a or b must be selected)

 system (1), features a/b, and system (2), features x/y, are ordered in delicacy such that a in system (1) is the entry condition for system (2) (if a is selected, either x or y must be selected)

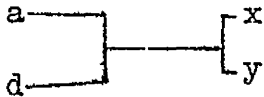
[possible selections ax ay b]

 systems m/n and x/y are simultaneous (having the same entry condition a)

[possible selections amx amy anx any]

 The entry condition for system x/y is compound, being the intersection of a and c (if both a and c are selected, either x or y must be selected)

[possible selections acx acy]

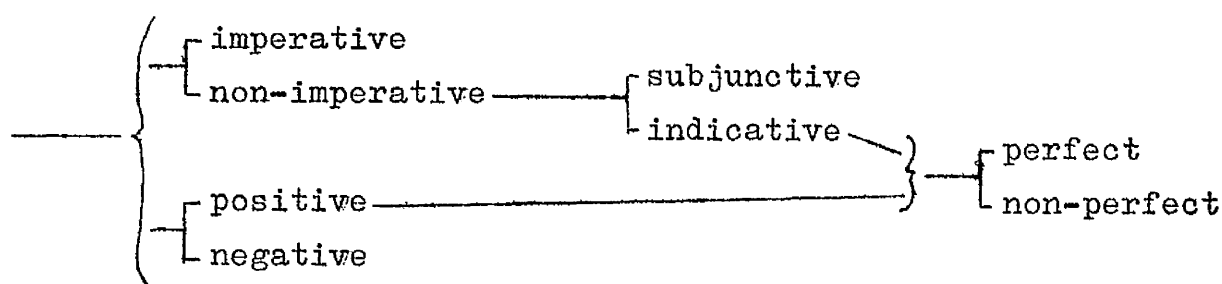
 system x/y has two possible entry conditions, either a or d

[possible selections ax ay dx dy adx ady]

Square brackets [ indicate that an alternative choice must be made, one or the other of the systems or features linked by the bracket must be selected. Square brackets ] indicate an alternative entry condition.

Curly brackets { indicate that the systems linked by the bracket are simultaneous, and that features must be simultaneously selected from both (all) systems so linked. Curly brackets } indicate a compound entry condition, that all the features so linked must be selected if the entry condition is to be fulfilled.

The relation of systems in a network may be illustrated from the following fragment of the mood system network of Mbembe (6.1), to which the entry condition is the major clause:



The following primary selections may be made:

imperative positive	non-imperative positive
imperative negative	non-imperative negative

If the non-imperative feature is selected then the entry condition to the subjunctive or indicative system is satisfied. The selection of either indicative or subjunctive is a more delicate specification of non-imperative, which must be included in a full description of the clause.

If both indicative and positive features are selected then the entry condition to the perfect or non-perfect system is fulfilled (a compound entry condition). This set of tense features is not relevant to imperative, subjunctive or negative clauses in Mbembe.



1.35 SELECTION EXPRESSION The system network shows all the possible features which are relevant to a given class. For the description of one particular example of that class a specific selection must be made from these possibilities. Such a selection is called a selection expression. A paradigm of selection expressions is the listing of all permitted combinations which may be derived from a network. From the restricted network above the following paradigm of selection expressions for the major clause may be derived:

{positive/imperative}	hà:n é'cên	'tie yams'
{negative/imperative}	ècén kàbà:n	'don't tie yams'
{positive/non-imperative:subjunctive}	óbà:n ècén	'he should tie yams'
{positive/non-imperative:indicative:perfect}	ké'cén b̀bà:nà	'he has tied yams'
{positive/non-imperative:indicative:non-perfect}	b̀bà:n ècén	'he ties yams'
{negative/non-imperative:subjunctive}	óníq ècén b̀bà:né	'he shouldn't tie yams'
{negative/non-imperative:indicative}	ècén' kóbà:né	'he didn't tie yams'

/ indicates simultaneous selections

: indicates dependent selections (specifications of further degree of delicacy)

Dependent selections are logically prior to simultaneous selections.

: is therefore taken before /.

{ } enclose a selection expression, or a set of simultaneous features within a selection expression.

1.36 STRUCTURE In the description structure is derived from system. Each feature is realized in structure. System may equally be said to be derived from structure in that, in the course of analysis, systems are set up for a given language according to the contrasts of meaning which are signalled through differences of structure in that language.

In the standard form of the theory the term element of structure is used for a constituent considered with regard to its function. One of the ways in which a feature may be realized is by the presence of certain elements of structure. For example, the feature 'non-imperative' may be realized by the presence of the elements S and P (subject and predicate) while 'imperative' is realized by the presence of the element P only. Elements of structure are in turn expounded by a class of units, usually of the rank below. The element of structure is therefore comparable to a tagmeme, having a functional basis associated with a class of units having that function.

The present description attempts to avoid setting up a functional abstraction by describing structures in terms of classes of units having certain functions. Functions are labelled, by raised superscripts, where such labelling adds explanatory power. eg.  $NP^S$  = Nominal Phrase having the function subject. Where a given class of unit can have only one function the function is not labelled.

Features may be realized in structure in any one or more of the following ways:

1. by the presence of a class of unit having a certain function
2. by the linear ordering of constituent units
3. by the presence of a syntactic marker\*
4. by the specification of the selection of certain features in a constituent unit. eg. The realization of the imperative feature of the clause may include

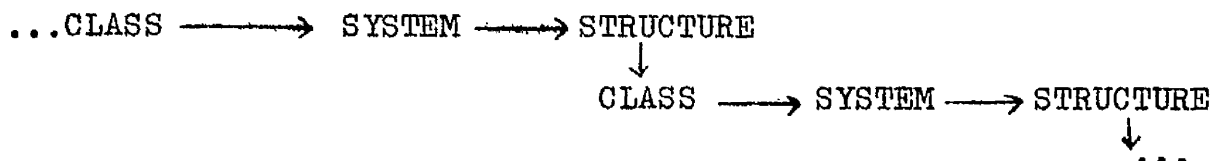
the specification that the Verbal Group constituent of the clause must also select the feature imperative. Specifications are labelled by subscripts.

eg.  $VG_{\text{imperative}}$  = Verbal Group with the feature imperative.

5. by phonological factors. In Mbembe tense and polarity features of the clause are realized partially by the selection of certain tone patterns.

\*Syntactic markers comprise particles which do not have constituent status, that is, which are not conveniently treated as units of a lower rank coming up the hierarchy. Their function is usually to signal some grammatical relationship. They may include such items as conjunctions. For completeness in the description they are also treated as morphemes, a summary of all morpheme classes, including syntactic markers, being given in 9.2.

The following diagram provides a summary of the relationship between system and structure in the theory:



Class is the point of origin of a system network of features. Features are realized (partially) in terms of the presence of classes of units (normally of the rank below) in a structure. Each constituent class is the point of origin of a new system network....

1.37 MARKEDNESS Certain binary systems are conveniently described as marked or unmarked in respect of a certain feature. The symbols + and - are used to signal marked and unmarked features respectively. In the description the realization of marked features is described. The unmarked feature is realized by the absence of the positive structural characteristics of the realization of the marked feature and is not separately described. For example, the clause is specified as + or -time-duration (6.34).

The +time-duration feature is realized by the presence of a temporal Nominal Phrase, the -time-duration by its absence.

1.38 RECURSION The description follows Huddleston (1965) in describing recursion in the grammatical hierarchy in terms of

- a) embedding
- b) linear recursion

Embedding occurs when a unit is down ranked to function as a constituent of a unit of its own or a lower rank. eg. A Nominal Phrase may be down ranked to function as a modifier within another Nominal Phrase (8.522).

Linear recursion may be either paratactic or hypotactic.

Paratactic recursion occurs when two or more constituents function in the same relation in a structure, each being potentially independent of the other. eg. A sequence of Nominal Phrases in coordinate relation to each other may function as subject or complement in a clause (8.8 cf. also 6.23).

Hypotactic recursion occurs when two or more constituents occur in a recursive relation in which one is subordinate to the other. eg. A Nominal Phrase may function in relative (possessive) relation to another Nominal Phrase (8.61).

In all linear recursive structures there is potentially infinite repetition of the relationship.

The relation of constituents in a linear recursive structure is therefore different in nature from that of constituents in other structures, being univariate rather than multivariate. Unit complexes (supplementary units) are postulated to handle linear recursion. Units involving no linear recursion are termed by contrast 'basic units'. Thus, between the clause and the sentence is the clause complex sub-rank, between the phrase and the clause is the nominal phrase <sup>complex</sup> sub-rank. It is not necessary to introduce singulary branching every time there is the unrealized possibility of linear recursion. At primary delicacy unit complexes have the same function in the structure of a larger unit as the corresponding basic unit.

1.39 COMPONENTS OF LANGUAGE Halliday (1967,8,9), following the 'functionalist' approach of the Prague school, suggests that there are four functions which language must fulfil in order to meet the demands of communication. In any given speech situation a speaker will draw upon options relating to any or all of these functions; he may, for example, use language to impart information, or to exact a certain kind of response. These four functions may be summarized as follows:

- a) The ideational function of language provides for the communication of factual information about extra-linguistic, 'real world' experience, for the expression of events, objects and abstractions and the relations between them. At clause rank this is the transitivity component. It is concerned with types of process (eg. action, state, relation), with participants in the process such as actor, goal and beneficiary, and with circumstantial roles, expressed through items in adjunct relation.
- b) The interpersonal function of language is concerned with linguistic interaction between persons, including speech functions such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, by means of which a speaker can prescribe a certain reaction from his hearers, also the ways in which he can vary his communication role through the use of person options, and express certain attitudes such as doubt or assertion. At clause rank this is the mood component.
- c) The textual component provides for intratextual relations, including focus, contrast and emphasis, cohesion, identification and anaphora. It is concerned with the patterning at all ranks which makes a consecutive discourse distinct from a sequence of random sentences. At clause rank this is the theme component.
- d) The fourth component is the logical component, which is concerned with the realization of logical relations such as parataxis and hypotaxis.

In a full description each class of unit would be the point of origin of simultaneous system networks relating features relevant to each of these components. The structure of a class is only fully specified through selections of features from the networks of features relevant to all components. The components are therefore relevant at each rank of the hierarchy.

The present description makes reference to the first three of these components but does not attempt to describe them systematically in detail. They are illustrated most fully at clause rank where the clause is the point of origin of networks relevant to mood, transitivity and theme.

#### 1.4 Interpretation

The following section is an informal discussion highlighting some of the distinctive characteristics of the language. Many of these characteristics are typical of West African languages.

The language has a simple syllable structure, common patterns being V (prefatory 2.21) CV or CVC (radical 2.221,2), the initial consonant being one of a set of 30 consonants (2.221), the second consonant one of a set of 6 (2.222). Another common pattern is the extended pattern CVCV (radical 2.223), the first and second consonants being limited as above, the final vowel being an 'echo' vowel.

The only consonantal clusters which may occur within the word or across word boundaries are those of a homorganic nasal preceding a consonant.

An interesting feature of the consonantal system in syllable initial position is the phonemic contrast between fortis and lenis consonants (2.6). Also in initial position (restricted) bilabial consonants may be accompanied by palatalization and velar consonants by labialization (2.225).

There are 7 distinctive vowel qualities

i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ
	a

with lengthening of certain vowels in closed and extended syllables only (2.222). Vowel harmony is of two kinds: Prefixes (prefatory syllable-pieces) harmonize with the vowel of the following root in respect of tongue height (2.34); the 'echo' vowel in the extended syllable-piece harmonizes with the preceding vowel in respect of front or back tongue position (2.223). Vowel elision is prevalent- vowel clusters never occur except where the second vowel is the final-marker (5.8). The elision pattern at morpheme boundaries is determined partially by grammatical factors (2.42) but most commonly, where there is a junction of two vowels, the second vowel supersedes the first.

Reduplication frequently occurs. The structure of the syllable-piece may be wholly or partially reduplicative (2.2262). Reduplication of the total word has grammatical meaning, generally connected with emphasis (7.2, 8.31).

Reduplication in the syllable-piece structure only occurs in nominal forms. Distinct phonological structures of nominal, verbal and pronominal forms is a further characteristic. Pronominal forms have contrastive elision and tone patterns (2.23). Nominal forms have a wider variety of CV structures, including reduplication and nasal clusters (2.2262, 2.227), verbal forms being restricted to the basic root patterns CV CVC CVCV. Tone patterns on verbal and nominal forms are also distinctive. (3.21, 3.22).

The tonal system of the language is highly complex. Basically there are two discrete tone levels, high and low, together with a feature of downstep, lowering of the high tone level (3.14). Tone signals lexical contrasts (its function in this respect is comparable to that of phoneme units) and also

has direct semantic relevance in that it realizes features of tense and polarity in the structure of the Verbal Group (3.3) and also signals different logical relations. In the structure of the sentence tone patterns on the Verbal Group and Nominal Phrase subject of the clause constituents mark the clause as being in nuclear, subordinate or preliminary relation in the sentence (3.3, 3.42). Tone patterns also signal the adjunct-locative relation of the Nominal Phrase in the structure of the clause (3.41) and the relative relation of items in the Nominal Phrase (3.42). Tonal patterns are further complicated by the interaction of morphophonemic tone changes, automatic tone elision caused by the juxtaposition of certain lexical or grammatical tones (3.5).

Just as in the phonology the syllable-piece unit is of particular interest, in the grammar the clause is important. Tense and polarity are considered as features of the clause for two reasons, one connected with the function of the clause and the other with its structure. Firstly, tense and polarity features are of significance in the function of the clause in the sentence in that the selection of certain tense (5.722) or polarity (5.723) sequences signals certain logical relations (equivalent to the use of conjunctions in English). For example, the sequence perfect clause followed by non-perfect clause (5.7221) may be translated freely into English "when..... then....". The sequence positive clause - negative clause may be translated by the use of the conjunction "but" (5.723). Secondly, tense and polarity features are realized partially by changes in the linear order of the constituents of the clause. Negative order is S C A P (subject complement adjunct predicate) while positive order is S P C A (non-perfect) or S C P A (perfect) (6.1).

Another point of interest in the mood systems of the clause is the non-parallelism between positive and negative tense forms. The time spectrum is divided differently in the positive and negative. There are four tense contrasts in the positive, only



three in the negative, with no direct semantic correspondance. In the positive, the neutral tense (6.15123) may be considered the unmarked tense. Unless accompanied by a temporal word the neutral tense makes no implication regarding the time of the action. This is the most common tense. By contrast the perfect tense (6.1511) signals a completed event or state, and the future tense (6.15121) indicates future time. In the negative forms time contrasts are between past action (including habitual action), non-past (present or future) and delayed ("not yet") action. (6.152).

The initiative clause feature is of importance in the function of the sentence. Clauses with the feature initiative (6.15) function only as nucleus of the sentence. The selection of the initiative feature as the further specification of indicative is made in the initial sentence of an utterance (4.211,2), including direct or indirect quotations (6.233.3) or to signal a new stage in the development of a narration (4.22). It is also often used with impersonal verbs (6.223).

The transitivity network of the clause (6.2) attempts to display types of process and participant roles. Types of process are of three primary categories, action, stative and relational, the latter being further divided into copulative, impersonal and mental process. Stative verbs might be described as 'adjectival' in that the comparable semantic function in English is performed through the use of an adjective. Mbembe has only a restricted set of adjectives (8.521), denoting mainly size and number, verbal forms being used to describe variations of quality and reaction.

Except in ergative (6.232.1) or directive (6.231) clauses the subject of a clause normally has the participant role of actor or attribuant. There is no passive construction. Focus distinctions comparable to those expressed through voice in English are expressed through the focus and contrast options of the theme network (6.4).

The occurrence of clause serial-expansions (paratactic clause complexes 6.24) is very common. The clause serial consists of a series of clauses, all sharing the same subject and potentially sharing other constituents such as items in complement or adjunct relations. Mood features are also shared by all clauses in the serial. Clauses in a serial are characteristically very short, often having a Verbal Group as their only constituent. Semantically redundant Verbal Groups are frequently included, such as the forms òbíná 'he got up' òkwí 'he came' òfóná 'he went' included in a sequence of events. Serial-expansion structures reflect the preference for verbal forms.

Comparable to the serial-expansion is the benefactive-expansion (6.234) and the effective-expansion (6.232.5). There are never more than three participants in a clause, seldom more than two. There is also a tendency to avoid the presence of more than one item in adjunct relation in any single clause. The use of expansions prevents the presence of too many constituents in a clause. Typical examples are òkér fṛwèr ònárèminà 'he wrote a book for us, lit. he wrote book he gave us' (benefactive expansion); òtóska íjò:k òyíká' ka é'kpá 'he put a snake in the bag lit. he took snake, he put in bag' (effective exp.).

An expansion form is also used to convey instrumental and accompaniment relations (6.235). These relations are signalled by a series of two clauses (sharing one subject and also mood features) of which the verb of the first clause is always tíma or tóska 'to take, use'. eg. òtóska ó'kórò òkpá:ra étèn 'he cut the meat with a knife lit. he took knife he cut meat'. òtóska fṛwà òyìn épyá 'he went to market with his child lit. he took child, he went to market'.

The language is rich in ideophones, expressive forms whose grammatical function is comparable to that of the adverb in English, though considerably more dramatic. Ideophones have distinct phonological shape (6.31).

The function of items in adjunct/locative (6.33) or time-punctiliar (6.3521) relation is signalled by the relator morpheme class (6.33). The selection of a particular relator signals the relative distance of the item from the actor, as near, far or neutral, it does not indicate the nature of the relationship, i.e. position or movement. It therefore has a function comparable to, but not equivalent to, the preposition in English. Distinctions of movement (towards, away from etc.) and some distinctions of position are signalled through the verb. eg. òsèṇà sa é'bín 'he walked (to) the bed'; ònàṇà sa é'cí 'he sat-on the tree'. Distinctions of position are also signalled by the selection of the +position feature in the Nominal Phrase in adjunct/locative relation (8.7). The selection of this feature brings the position into prominence. eg. ónín sa í'dó'ṇó' sa ẽ'tá:ṇá 'he is inside the room'.

Verb-roots and noun-roots are the two major open lexical classes. Verb-roots are especially versatile in that nouns may be formed from virtually any verb-root (9.1312). Complex nouns are also very productive (9.1321).

Most of the morphology of nominal words is determined through the concord-class system (10.). The language has a comparatively well preserved concord system. Geographically it is one of the furthest west of the semi-Bantu languages. All nouns have singular and plural prefixes and are grouped in classes according to the pairing of these prefixes and corresponding consonantal agreement elements. These consonantal elements occur in the <sup>relative marker,</sup> demonstrative, emphatic particle and numeral. Agreement between the Nominal Phrase subject and the predicate is also marked by prefixes in the Verbal Group. Very little remains of the semantic categorization of Bantu languages but notes on some points of interest are given in 10.4.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PHONOLOGICAL HIERARCHY

2.1 The following units are postulated in the phonological hierarchy of Mbembe:

DISCOURSE  
UTTERANCE  
P-SENTENCE  
P-PHRASE  
WORD-PIECE  
SYLLABLE-PIECE  
PHONEME

No attempt is made to describe the top three ranks. A brief note on them is given in section 2.5.

All units are defined in phonological terms and no unit is set up which does not have a distinct phonological pattern. There is, however, interrelation between the phonological and grammatical hierarchies. One of the purposes of this description is to display the congruence between phonological and grammatical units.

2.2 The syllable-piece is a convenient starting point. The description of phoneme units is incorporated into this section.

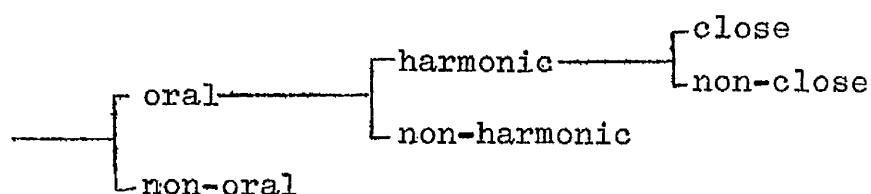
There are three classes of phoneme units: vowels, consonants and syllabic nasal. Vowels and consonants are further grouped into sets according to their function in the structure of the syllable-piece. Vowel phonemes of all sets may be identified with each other in that parallel vowels of all sets have identical phonetic manifestation (cf. 2.6). Vowel set 3 comprises the full range of vowels - other sets may be considered as restricted selections from Vowel set 3. Similarly, consonant phonemes of all sets except set 2 (cf. 2.22) may be identified with each other. Consonant set 1 comprises the full range of consonant phonemes.

The term 'syllable-piece' is used in preference to 'syllable' because the syllable-piece may comprise up to four phonetic syllables. It is treated as a unit because the choices throughout are inter-dependent. In discussing a similar situation in Igbo Carnochan writes: "The vowel sound in the second syllable of each example is the same as in the final syllable: together they constitute one alternance. There are not two separate alternances, one in one syllable and a different one in the other. For this reason, I give a [single] phonological formula for them all...." (Carnochan 1960 p.157).

The following classes of syllable-piece are set up according to contrastive function in the word-piece:

prefatory	2.21	functions of.	2.31,2
radical	2.22		2.31,2
pronominal	2.23		2.32,3

2.21 The functions of the prefatory syllable-piece are discussed in 2.31, 2. The prefatory syllable-piece is congruent with the grammatical person (7.12) and concord-class (10.2) prefixes and is the point of origin of the following network:



2.211 The oral feature is realized by the presence of a vowel of set 1,  $V_1$ , more delicate specifications being realized by selections within this set as follows:

	harmonic		non-harmonic
close	e	o	i
non-close	ɛ	ɔ	a

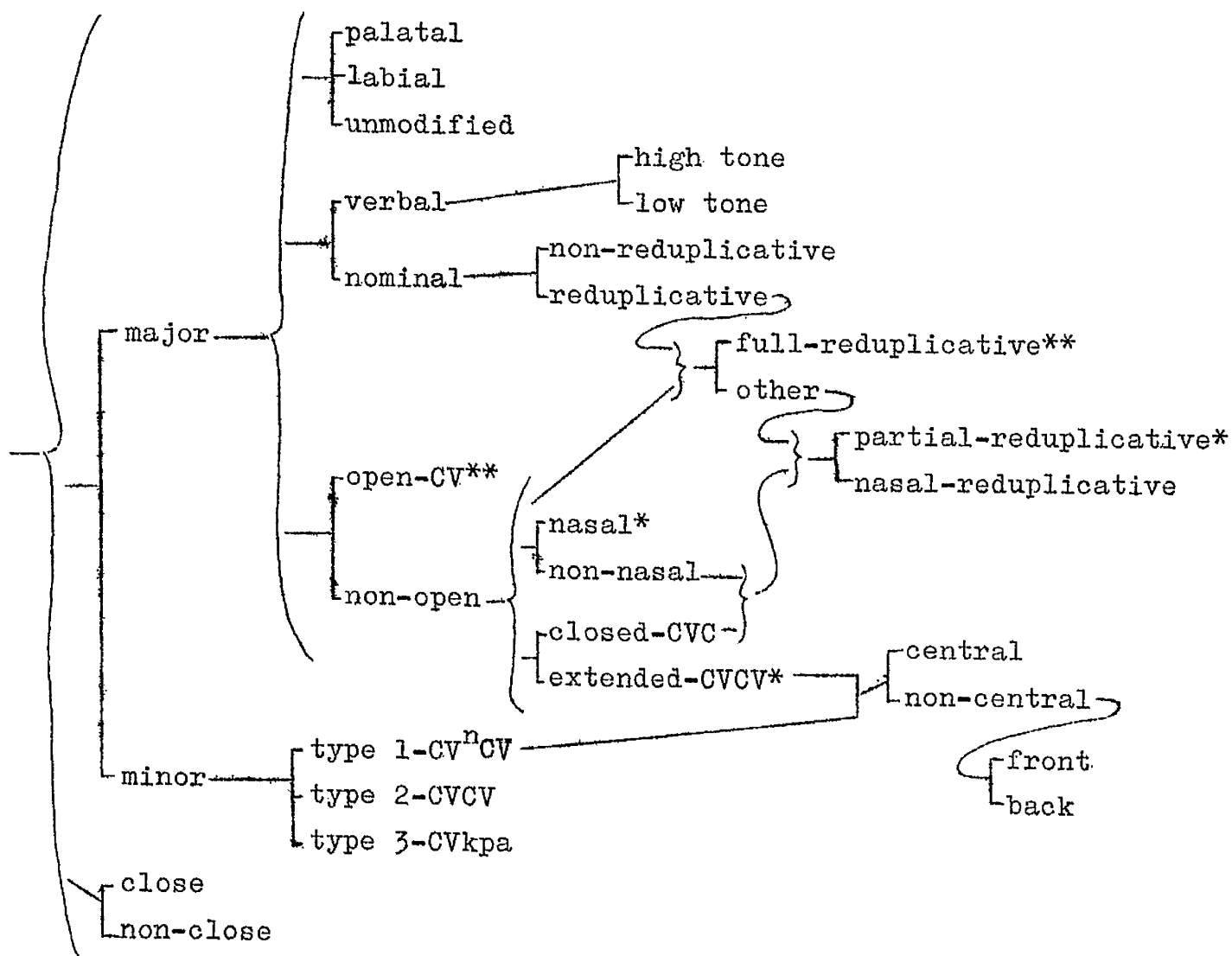
For the further discussion of harmonic vowels cf. 2.34.

eg.    e.ʃo 'head'                      o.po 'lead weight'    i.se 'blood'  
       ɛ.ja 'sacrifice'                  ɔ.gogo 'white ant'    a.ʃi 'water'

2.212 The non-oral feature is realized by the presence of a syllabic nasal, symbolized N in formulae, manifested by a syllabic nasal always homorganic with the following consonant.

eg. m.bar 'axes'    n.n:a 'older woman'    n.kwuro 'ill-luck'

2.22 The radical syllable-piece is congruent with grammatical root morphemes, those with the feature 'verbal' are congruent with verb-roots, those with the feature 'nominal' or 'minor' with noun-roots and with the majority of adjective and adverb roots. The radical syllable-piece is the point of origin of the following network:



\*\*If the 'open-CV' feature is selected in conjunction with the 'reduplicative' feature, it is always further specified as 'full-reduplicative'.

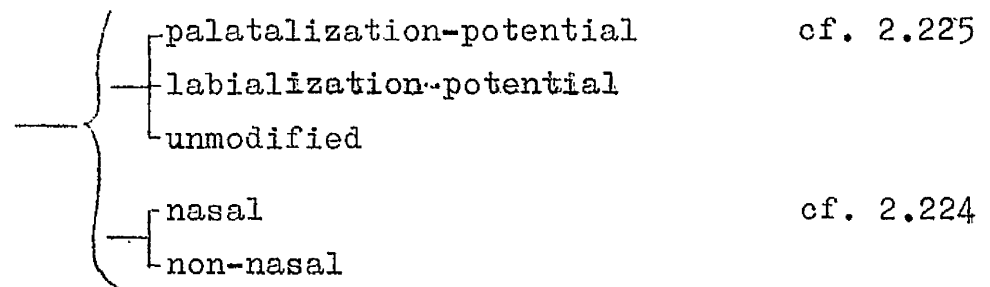
\*If the 'nasal' or 'extended-CVCV' feature, and the 'other' reduplicative feature are selected, the further specification is always 'partial-reduplicative'.



2.221 The open-CV feature is realized by the partial structure

$$C_1V_2$$

Consonant set 1,  $C_1$ , occurs in syllable-piece initial position in all major syllable-piece structures. Consonants of set 1 are further specified as follows:



specifications being realized by selections within the set as follows:

	palatalization- potential	unmodified			labialization- potential
NON-NASAL	p	t	c	kp	k
		t		kp	k
	b	d	j	gb	g
	ɸ	f	s		
		f	s		
		b	v		
			l		
NASAL		r	y	w	
	m	n	ɲ		ɳ
		m:	n:		

ɳ only occurs syllable-piece initially when accompanied by labialization. cf. 2.2252.



	front		back	
close	i		u	
	e		o	
non-close	ɛ	a	ɔ	
		a:	ɔ:	
	front	central	back	

Consonant set 2, C<sub>2</sub>, is further specified as:

{ nasal  
 { non-nasal
 
cf. 2.224

and comprises:

nasal	m	n	ŋ
non-nasal	P	T	K

m n ŋ are manifested as voiced nasals at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively.

P T K are manifested phrase finally as unreleased stops at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively. Phrase medially immediately preceding a vowel they are manifested as [ɸ] [ɾ] and [k] (k being very lenis and sometimes lightly voiced). In the transcription they are written ɸ r k in all positions.

The assimilation patterns of set 2 consonants occurring phrase medially preceding a consonant are described in 2.411, 2.414.

Examples of closed-CVC syllable-pieces:

ɛ.ba:m 'cow'    ɛ.ten 'animal'    o.nun 'salt'  
 ɛ.kiɸ 'navel'    ɛ.bar 'axe'    ɛ.bɔ:k 'divination'

One example occurs of the consonant t in set 2 position, in the onomatopoeic word péte 'to be dripping wet'.

2.223 The non-open:extended feature is realized by the partial structure:

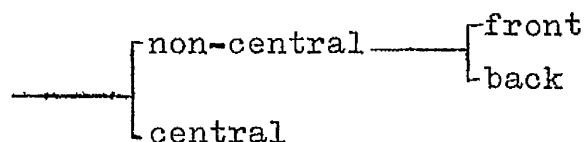
$$C_1 V_3 C_2 V_4$$

$C_1$  cf. 2.221

$C_2$  cf. 2.222

$V_3$  cf. 2.222

Vowel set 4,  $V_4$ , is specified as:



and comprises:

	front	back
non-central	ɛ	ɔ
central	a	

The extended:non-central:front syllable-piece feature is realized by the selection of i) a vowel with the feature front or central from the  $V_3$  set (or, where the entry condition is the minor:type 1 feature, from set  $V_2$  cf. 2.2271) and ii) the front vowel ɛ from the  $V_4$  set.

eg.        o.sere    'kind of animal (?camel)'  
             o.ja:ne   'driver ant.'  
             o.cime    'kind of deer'

The extended:non-central:back syllable-piece feature is realized by the selection of a vowel with the feature back from i) the  $V_3$  set and ii) the  $V_4$  set.

eg.        e.tumo    'milipede'  
             i.donɔ    'corner'  
             o.borɔ    'intestine'

The extended:central syllable-piece feature is realized by the selection of i) any vowel from the  $V_3$  set ii) the central vowel a from the  $V_4$  set.

eg.    ɛ.gbara   'nest'        e.bona   'mortar'        i.kira   'hut'

2.224 All syllable-pieces with the feature non-open are also specified as either nasal or non-nasal.

The nasal feature is realized by the specification that the consonant selected both from set  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  must have the feature nasal (2.221, 2.222). Therefore, where  $C_1$  is a nasal consonant  $C_2$  must also be nasal.

eg. nán 'to give'      o.no:ma 'shirt'

myá:ne 'to whine'

There are two recorded exceptions to this pattern:

mè:ke 'to give, share'      mà:ke 'to sprout'

The non-nasal feature is realized by the selection of a non-nasal consonant from set  $C_1$ . Any consonant may then be selected from set  $C_2$ .

eg. e.bem 'hippopotamus'      i.jeb 'crocodile'

e.beba 'cutting-grass'

2.225 The palatal, labial and <sup>u</sup>modified features are realized as follows:

2.2251 The palatal feature is realized by:

i. the selection of a consonant having the feature palatalization-potential as  $C_1$  (2.221)

ii. the selection of a vowel having the feature front or central as  $V_2$  or  $V_3$  (2.221, 2.222)

iii. the presence of a palatal off-glide release of the initial consonant of the syllable-piece.

In transcriptions and formulae palatalization is written as y following the initial consonant eg. CyV.

eg. myé 'to press, squeeze'      o.byen 'kind of bird'

o.pyine 'tomorrow'

o.pya 'instrument for beating a mud floor'

Two examples are recorded of palatalization in conjunction with a back vowel: pyókɔ 'to cut grass with a swishing movement' (onomatopoeic); ɔ.pyɔŋ 'headscarf' (possibly a loan word).

It is of interest that in the Adun dialect the bilabial voiceless fricative p occurs only preceding front or central vowels, even when not accompanied by palatalization. In Osopong dialect cognate words are palatalized:

eg.	Adun:	o. <u>p</u> e	'moon'	Osopong:	o. <u>py</u> e
		i. <u>p</u> a	'harvest'		i. <u>py</u> a
		pà:ke	'to split wood'		pya:ke

2.2252 The labial feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of a consonant having the feature labialization-potential as C<sub>1</sub> (2.221)
- ii. the selection of a vowel having the feature back or central as V<sub>2</sub> or V<sub>3</sub> (2.221, 2.222)
- iii. the presence of a labial off-glide release of the initial consonant of the syllable-piece.

In transcriptions and formulae labialization is written w following the initial consonant eg. CwV.

eg.	ɔ. <u>kwa</u>	'name of a society'	ɔ. <u>gwɔ:ŋɔ</u>	'foufou scraper'
	<u>ɲwà</u>	'to enter'	<u>kwú</u>	'to come'

One example is recorded of labialization in conjunction with a front vowel: gwéŋe 'to be smart, clever (like a monkey)'.

2.2253 The unmodified feature is realized by:

- i. the free selection of any consonant from C<sub>1</sub>
- ii. the free selection of any vowel from V<sub>2</sub> or V<sub>3</sub>
- iii. the absence of any palatal or labial off-glide release of the initial consonant of the syllable-piece

eg.	ɔ. <u>ka</u>	'mother'	o. <u>te</u>	'father'	ɔ. <u>pa</u>	'packet, sheath'
-----	--------------	----------	--------------	----------	--------------	------------------

2.226 The verbal and nominal features are realized as follows:

2.2261 The verbal feature is realized by the presence of lexical tone, either high tone or low tone (3.22). For the interaction of grammatical tone cf. 3.3.

eg.	pé	'to die'	pè	'to cut'
	fóra	'to blow the nose'	fòra	'to wear'
	fúka	'to run aground'	fùka	'to strip the branches off a tree'

2.2262 Syllable-pieces with the feature nominal (or minor) do not have any tonal realization because in the nominal sphere tone is basic to the word-piece structure rather than to the syllable-piece (3.21).

2.22621 Nominal syllable-pieces are further specified as either reduplicative or non-reduplicative.

The non-reduplicative feature is realized by the absence of any reduplication in the syllable-piece structure. All examples cited above are non-reduplicative.

The reduplicative feature is further specified as either full-reduplicative or other.

The full-reduplicative feature may be selected in conjunction with any major CV pattern (open, closed or extended) and is realized by the reduplication of the total structure of the syllable-piece:

eg.	e.ñaña	'horse'	o.pyipyi	'dark-skinned person'
	o.gbangban	'tin'	o.komokomo	'Iroko tree'
	o.kwurakwura	'girl under circumcision rites'		

The other reduplicative feature is further specified as either partial-reduplicative or nasal-reduplicative.

The partial-reduplicative feature may be selected in conjunction with any non-open feature. It is realized by the reduplication of the initial consonant ( $C_1$ ) of the syllable-piece. Tone-bearing open transition occurs between the two duplicated consonants, having front phonetic quality preceding a front vowel in the following syllable, back quality preceding a back vowel.

eg.    i.dədo:b        'mud'                    ε.səsa:n        'fly'  
          i.tətika        'face'                    e.dədoro        'star'

The nasal-reduplicative feature may be selected only in conjunction with the non-open:closed feature. It is realized by the reduplication of the total syllable-piece structure with a homorganic nasal onset onto the second part of the structure and the presence of the vowel a preceding this nasal onset.

eg.    e.bira<sup>m</sup>bir        'warrior's society'  
          kpena<sup>n</sup>kpen        'every, each'  
          sa:ba<sup>n</sup>sa:b        'many'

This completes the description of the major radical syllable-piece.

2.227 The minor feature is realized as follows:

2.2271 Type 1 has the structure         $C_3 V_2 {}^n C_4 V_4$

$V_2$  cf. 2.221                     $V_4$  cf. 2.223

Consonant set 3,  $C_3$ , comprises

	t	k	
m	n		gb
	r		

Only fifteen nouns of this pattern are recorded.



In the recorded examples gb only occurs where  $C_4$  is a nasal.

eg. e.gbo<sup>m</sup>ma 'calabash, bottle' o.gba<sup>n</sup>na 'kind of green leaf'

Consonant set 4,  $C_4$ , comprises:

b	d	j	g
m	n		

$C_4$  is preceded by a homorganic nasal onset.

Type 1 is further specified as central, non-central:front or non-central:back. These features are realized as described in 2.223 with the modification that in the realization of the non-central:back feature either a back or central vowel may be selected from set  $V_2$ .

Examples of Type 1 minor syllable-piece:

o. <u>ko<sup>m</sup>ba</u>	'pig'	e. <u>ka<sup>n</sup>de</u>	'cat'
i. <u>gbo<sup>m</sup>ma</u>	'rat'	a. <u>ni<sup>n</sup>je</u>	'pepper'
e. <u>ri<sup>n</sup>na</u>	'ant-hill'	e. <u>ma<sup>n</sup>go</u>	'shoulder'

2.2272 Type 2 is realized by the partial structure:

$$C_5 \overline{V_5 C_6 V_5}$$

Consonant set 5,  $C_5$ , comprises:

		k	
b		g	gb
	f		
		r	

Consonant set 6,  $C_6$ , comprises:

d	k
r	

Vowel set 5,  $V_5$ , comprises:

i	
e	o

All these vowels have the feature close. The same vowel is selected in both positions.

Examples of Type 2 minor syllable-piece:

e. gboko 'kind of root vegetable'

o.koro      'machete'

η.gbodo 'ceiling mat'

o.gidi 'kind of small bean'

e.bere 'kind of water-pot'

2.2273 Type 3 is realized by the structure:

 $C_1 V_2 \text{ крз}$ 

$C_1$  cf. 2.221       $V_2$  cf. 2.221

Examples of Type 3 minor syllable-piece:

о.декра 'cockroach'

a.fɔkpa 'groundnut'

ε.ñɔkpa 'finger nail, claw'

2.228 All radical syllable-pieces are specified as either close or non-close.

The close and non-close features are realized by the selection of a vowel with the feature close or non-close respectively from set  $V_2$ ,  $V_3$  or  $V_5$ . Vowels of set 5 all have the feature close.

The close or non-close features have relevance in the structure of the word-piece (2.34) since the choice within this system determines the harmony of any preceding prefatory syllable-piece in respect of tongue height.

2.229 Some sample selection expressions from the radical syllable-piece network:

i. səson 'smoke' { close/major: { non-open: { closed/non-nasal } /  
nominal: reduplicative: partial-red./unmodified } }

- o.ñəña:ɲe 'grasshopper' { non-close/major: { non-open:  
 { extended: non-central: front/nasal } / nominal:  
 reduplicative: partial-red./unmodified } }
- kwú 'to come' { close/major: { open/verbal: high/labial } }
- a.ramba 'mad talk' { non-close/minor: type-1: central }
- ɛ.mɔŋ 'song, voice' { non-close/major: { non-open: { closed/  
 ; nasal } / nominal: non-reduplicative/unmodified } }
- bá:ɲa 'to hear, understand' { non-close/major: { non-open:  
 { extended: central/non-nasal } / verbal: high-tone/unmodified } }

2.23 The pronominal syllable-piece is congruent with the grammatical pronoun root. It is realized by the following forms which comprise the total paradigm of the pronoun root:

I		II	
m	'1st person sing.'	mina	'1st person plural'
o	'2nd person sing.'	bɔɲa	'2nd person plural'
ɛ	'3rd person sing.'	bɛ	'3rd person plural'

The Consonant-Vowel patterning of sub-class I and II is comparable to that of the prefatory and radical syllable-piece respectively. The pronominal syllable-piece is structurally contrastive in that:

- it is the domain of a distinctive tone pattern (3.55)
- it has contrastive elision properties (2.422)

It also has contrastive distribution in the structure of the word-piece (2.32, 2.33).

2.24 A set of phonological clitics occur, congruent with grammatical tense and polarity markers (6.1511, 7.1522, 7.1523) and with relative markers (8.6~~0~~). The phonological clitic is realized by a consonant of set 1 (which may be accompanied by palatalization or labialization). When it occurs preceding a consonant or syllabic nasal, the clitic is followed by open transition bearing tone. Preceding a vowel the clitic fuses into one phonetic syllable with the vowel, the tone pattern associated with the clitic being manifested according to regular tone elision patterns (3.56).

eg.        kó!tá        'he did not go'

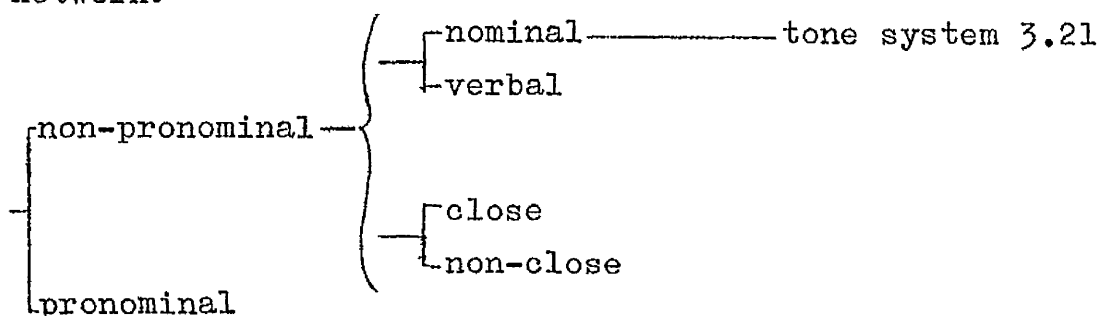
kén!tá        'I did not go'

The clitic is prefixed to the word-piece but in this description is considered, for the sake of simplicity, to be outside the structure of the word-piece except in its function as a constituent of the pronominal word-piece (2.33).

The distinctive phonological properties of certain other grammatical items are noted within the grammatical description:

cf.        final marker    5.8  
          plural marker    6.17  
          verb-auxiliary wdê    7.02  
          ideophone        6.31

2.3 The word-piece functions as a constituent of the phonological phrase and is the point of origin of the following network:



2.31 The non-pronominal:nominal word-piece is congruent with the grammatical noun, demonstrative, numeral, interrogative, temporal, adjective and adverb. It is realized by the following partial structure:

(prefatory-syllable-piece)^ radical-syllable-piece

the radical syllable-piece being further specified as either nominal or minor.

eg.    ò.tò:k        'thing'    (noun)  
          ó.pyíné       'tomorrow'    (temporal)  
          kpènáṅkpèn    'every, each'    (adjective)  
          à.ñì        'who?'    (interrogative)  
          m.fá    n.tá:n    'three dogs'    (noun, numeral)

The structure of complex nouns (9.132) is not discussed here since it is grammatically rather than phonologically determined.

2.32 The non-pronominal:verbal word-piece is congruent with the grammatical nuclear or auxiliary verb structures within the verbal group and is realized by the structure:

(prefatory-syllable-piece)^ radical-syllable-piece ^ (pronominal-syllable-piece)

the radical syllable-piece being further specified as verbal.

eg.            sé        'to see'  
               ó.sé        'he sees'  
               ó.sé.bè    'he sees them'

The following factors characterize the juncture between the radical syllable-piece and the pronominal syllable-piece:

- i) if the radical syllable-piece is open (2.221) then the final vowel ( $V_2$ )
  - a) is manifested as open transition before a consonant
  - b) is elided completely before a vowel
  - c) remains constant before a syllabic nasal

ii) if the radical syllable-piece is non-open, whether further specified as closed or extended, then the second consonant ( $C_2$ ) is followed by open transition before a consonant or syllabic nasal. If the radical syllable-piece is extended, then the final vowel ( $V_4$ ) is dropped under all conditions.

eg.            tá 'to tell'            bá:ŋa 'to hear'

          o.ʔa.m 'he tells me'            o.ʔa:ŋ<sup>ə</sup>.m 'he hears me'

          o.ʔə.mina 'he tells us'            o.ʔa:ŋ<sup>ə</sup>.mina 'he hears us'

          o.ʔe 'he tells him'            o.ʔa:ŋ.e 'he hears him'

2.33 The pronominal word-piece is congruent with the free pronoun (8.11) and with the possessive relative pronoun (8.62). It is realized by the structure

(clitic) ^ pronominal-syllable-piece

The juncture between the clitic and the pronominal syllable-piece is characterized by the presence of the vowel [a]. This juncture vowel is short before a disyllabic pronominal syllable-piece, otherwise long.

eg.            k.â:m 'I'

          ò.ʔò:k f.ámínà 'our thing'

mínà 'we'

2.34 The non-pronominal word-piece is the domain of vowel harmony, every word-piece being specified as either close or non-close.

The close feature is realized by the specification that all radical and prefatory syllable-piece constituents have the feature close (2.228) or, in the case of the prefatory syllable-piece, non-harmonic (2.211).

eg.            è.só 'head'            è.vú 'goat'            o.fú 'he steals'

à.sí 'water'            í.kírá 'hut'            ò.sì 'he makes'

The non-close feature is realized by the specification that all radical and prefatory syllable-piece constituents of the word-piece have the feature non-close or non-harmonic (2.228, 2.211).

eg. <u>è.jò</u>	'water pot'	<u>ò.rà</u>	'reed'
<u>à.wà</u>	'soup'	<u>ò.tà</u>	'he goes'
<u>ì.pà</u>	'harvest'	<u>ó.à:á</u>	'indigo'

2.4 The phonological phrase functions in the phonological sentence and consists of word-piece units. It is characterized by the occurrence of a single intonation contour and its boundaries are marked by a pause, which may be very short phonetically. No attempt is made in this description to describe the intonation contours. The phonological phrase is most frequently congruent with one of the following grammatical structures:

- a clause (basic or complex)
- a nominal phrase in vocative relation or as marked theme
- an exclamation or response word

There is, however, considerable variation in the length of the phonological phrase. Determining factors include the style of speech and the emotional state of the speaker.

The phonological phrase is also characterized by internal juncture patterns across syllable-piece and word-piece boundaries. The patterns described below apply at all junctures except those specified in sections 2.32, 2.33, 2.24.

In the examples below word-piece units in their isolate form are separated by the symbol /.

#### 2.41 Consonantal assimilation

2.411 A nasal consonant or syllabic nasal (other than the 1st person singular pronoun m) occurring immediately preceding any other consonant within the phrase assimilates to the point of articulation of that consonant.

eg. <u>ótúm</u> / <u>ka</u> / èwù / dànè	ótú <u>nkéwúdà</u> nè
it-reach to day one	'it happened one day'

ókpén / bε > ókpémbé 'he is called...'  
he-is-called that...

tám / èdén > ètándén 'old path' (complex noun)  
old path cf. 9.132

èdén / yà:ka > èdényá:kà 'the branching of the path'  
path to-branch (complex noun)

2.412 The consonants b and r occurring immediately following a nasal consonant, assimilate to the manner of articulation of the nasal, but retain their point of articulation, to which reciprocally the nasal assimilates, following the rule given in 2.411 above.

eg. èbà:m 'cow' mmà:m 'cows' (singular prefix ε-  
plural prefix N-)  
érà:ká 'gourd' nnà:ká 'gourds'  
bàre 'to throw' mmaré 'I throw' (1st person prefix N-)  
tám 'old' òbòn 'town' > òtámmmôn 'old town'  
(complex noun)

2.413 Preceding l a nasal consonant or syllabic nasal may assimilate completely in rapid speech:

eg. élà:ká 'shell' llà:ká 'shells' (slow form: nlà:ká')

2.414 Non-nasal consonants of set 2 (2.222) are dropped completely immediately preceding any consonant:

èbàr / eâ:m > èbàcâ:m 'my axe'  
axe my

èkób / sê > èkósê 'his palm-nuts'  
palm-nuts his

òvá:r / ònòn > òvâ:nôn 'chief' (complex noun)  
chief person



2.42 Vowel elision

2.421 The following rules describe the elision of vowels in all conditions except a) when the 1st vowel is the final vowel of a pronominal syllable-piece (2.23, 2.422)

b) when the 1st vowel is the final vowel of the fused form *bo-* 'which?' (2.423)

i) When the juncture of any two syllable-piece units is such that in the isolate forms the first syllable-piece ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, then the first vowel is dropped and the second retained, sometimes with slight lengthening.

eg.    òtà / épyá > òtépyá    'he goes to market'  
          he-goes market

èfá / ècí / ètèn > èfé'cé'tèn    'the dog eats meat'  
          dog        it-eats meat

ii) There is an extension of the vowel harmony pattern described in 2.34 above. When the vowel of a verbal radical syllable-piece with the feature open<sup>-CV</sup> is dropped by elision, then any preceding prefatory syllable-piece harmonizes in respect of tongue height with the next vowel which occurs in the sequence:

eg.    òsì / ànà > òsàà    'he makes oil'  
          he-makes oil

èfá / ècí / òkóó > èfé'cókóó    'the dog eats the bone'  
          dog        it-eats bone

However when functioning as a constituent of a nominal word-piece, a prefatory syllable-piece retains its quality as in the unelided form. Thus in the example èfé'cé'tèn above, the prefatory syllable ε- of èfá 'dog' (nominal word-piece) remains non-close even when preceding a close vowel in the following syllable. This may be a reflexion of the fact that prefixes in the nominal system help to carry the lexical load, while in the verbal system they signal grammatical meaning.

2.422 The following rules describe the elision pattern of vowels when the 1st vowel is the final vowel of a pronominal syllable-piece:

i) When a juncture of two vowels occurs, the 1st vowel being the 3rd person pronominal syllable-piece -e or b<sub>e</sub>, the 2nd vowel being any other vowel, then the 1st vowel is retained with lengthening and the 2nd vowel is dropped.

eg. k<sub>e</sub> / òb<sub>e</sub>áná > k<sub>e</sub>:b<sub>e</sub>áná 'he goes'  
he he-goes

ònán<sub>e</sub> / íkárìbá > ònán<sub>e</sub>:kárìbá 'he gave him a basket'  
he-gave-him basket

ii) If the 1st vowel is the final vowel of a pronominal syllable-piece, being any vowel other than -e, then the 1st vowel is dropped and the 2nd vowel retained with lengthening.

eg. k<sub>ò</sub> / àb<sub>a</sub>áná > k<sub>a</sub>:b<sub>a</sub>áná 'you go'  
you you-go

ònán<sub>ò</sub> / íkárìbá > ònán<sub>i</sub>:kárìbá 'he gave you a basket'  
he-gave-you basket

iii) The elided vowel harmonizes with the tongue height of the vowel of the following syllable.

eg. k<sub>e</sub> / òfóná > k<sub>e</sub>:fóná 'he departs'  
he he-departs

ònán<sub>e</sub> / èvú > ònán<sub>e</sub>:vú 'he gave him a goat'  
he-gave-him goat

èkòk / ès<sub>e</sub> / òs<sub>i</sub> > èkòkès<sub>e</sub>:s<sub>i</sub> 'he is cold'  
cold it-does-him does

2.423 The following rules describe the elision patterns of vowels when the 1st vowel is the vowel ɔ in the fused form bɔ- 'which?' (derived from bɔŋ- 'which?' 8.51):

i) if the second vowel at the juncture is any vowel except i, then the first vowel is dropped and the second retained with lengthening.

eg. bɔ- / ɛkándè > bɛ:kánùè 'which cat?'  
which? cat

ii) if the second vowel is the vowel i, then the first vowel is retained with lengthening and the second is dropped.

eg. bɔ- / ikírá > bɔ:kírá 'which hut?'  
which? hut

iii) if bɔ- occurs preceding a syllabic nasal, the vowel ɔ is retained with lengthening, the nasal is also retained but loses its syllabicity.

eg. bɔ- / ŋrwà > bɔ:ŋrwâ 'which child?'  
which? child

## 2.43 Vowel modification preceding a consonant

a) When a non-central vowel of set 4 (2.223) occurs immediately preceding a consonant, it is manifested by open transition, carrying tone and having a fronted quality.

eg. ìrò:nó' / ʂé > ìrò:néʂè 'his rat'  
rat his

éɓá:ké / dànè > éɓá:kédánè 'one side'  
side one

òwònɔ' / òtɔ:m > òwònétɔ:m 'farm work' (complex noun)  
farm work

b) Under the conditions described in a) above, if the consonant preceding the vowel ( $V_4$ ) is a nasal consonant, there is a tendency in rapid speech for the vowel to drop out completely and for the nasal to assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant.

eg.     $\acute{o}g\acute{a}:\underline{n}\acute{e}$  /     $k\acute{i}d\acute{a}:m$                        $>$      $\acute{o}g\acute{a}:\underline{n}k\acute{i}d\acute{a}:m$     'he is very strong'  
          he-is-strong very

$\acute{o}j\acute{a}\underline{n}\acute{e}$  /     $ka$  /     $\acute{i}y\acute{a}:n$                        $>$      $\acute{o}j\acute{a}\underline{n}k\acute{i}y\acute{a}:n$     'it sticks out'  
          it-sticks to    outside  
          projects

c) When any vowel occurs preceding a syllabic nasal it is manifested as open transition.

eg.     $\acute{o}s\acute{e}$  /     $\eta\eta w\grave{a}$                                        $>$      $\acute{o}s\acute{e}\underline{\eta}\eta w\grave{a}$     'he sees the child'  
          he-sees child

2.5 The phonological sentence consists of phonological phrases and is characterized by the occurrence of a nuclear intonation contour on one of the constituent phrases, usually a falling intonation. The beginning of a sentence is often signalled by a rise in the pitch level. Phonological sentences are usually, but not always, congruent with grammatical sentences and the phonological factors described above may be used as decisive criteria where a grammatical sentence boundary is ambiguous.

The phonological utterance is congruent with the grammatical utterance and is phonetically characterized by features of personal voice quality. It may also be characterized by mounting intonation climaxes. A pattern of intonational features may run through a total discourse, as in the case of a quarrel, or a conversation carried out over a considerable distance. Such factors are, however, outside the scope of this description.

## 2.6 Phonetic description of phoneme units

### 2.6.1 Consonants

The phonetic manifestation of consonants of set 2 has been described in 2.222. Consonants of all other sets are manifested as described below.

Consonants contrast in respect of the following distinctive features:

<u>point of articulation</u>	<u>mode of articulation</u>	<u>voicing</u>	<u>modification</u>
bilabial	plosive	voiced	fortis/long
labio-dental	fricative	voiceless	lenis/short
alveolar	lateral		
palatal	flap		
velar	semi-vowel		
labio-velar	nasal		

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial plosive	[èpá]	'bank'
/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive	[èbá]	'breast'
/t̥/	[t̥]	voiceless alveolar fortis plosive	[èt̥á]	'quarrel'
/t/	[t]	voiceless alveolar lenis plosive	[ètá]	'stone'
/d/	[d]	voiced alveolar plosive	[òdá]	'sleep'
/c/	[tʃ]	voiceless alveo-palatal grooved affricated plosive	[ètʃà]	'clearing'
/j/	[dʒ]	voiced alveo-palatal grooved affricated plosive	[èdʒà]	'sacrifice'
/k̥/	[k̥]	voiceless velar fortis plosive	[òk̥à]	'mother'
/k/	[k]	voiceless velar lenis plosive	[òkà]	'cult symbol'
/g/	[g]	voiced velar plosive	[á'gá']	'needle'
/kp̥/	[kp̥]	voiceless labio-velar fortis plosive	[èkp̥à]	'bag, pocket'
/kp/	[kp]	voiceless labio-velar lenis plosive	[èkpá]	'bush, jungle'
/gb/	[gb]	voiced labio-velar plosive	[ègbà]	'charm, talisman'

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial fricative	[òpé:]	'moon, month'
/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial fricative	[óbè:]	'pear tree'
/f/	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fortis fricative	[èfú]	'kola nut'
/f/	[f]	voiceless labio-dental lenis fricative	[éfú]	'unripe fruit'
/v/	[v]	voiced labio-dental fricative	[èvú]	'goat'
/ʃ/	[ʃ]	voiceless alveolar fortis	[èʃà]	'tooth'
/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar sibilant lenis sibilant	[ìsè]	'blood'
/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial short nasal	[ímà:ná']	'knife'
/m:/	[m:]	voiced bilabial long nasal	[èm:à]	'mouth'
/n/	[n]	voiced alveolar short nasal	[ànà]	'oil'
/n:/	[n:]	voiced alveolar long nasal	[àn:à]	'four'
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced palatal nasal	[èɲà]	'clothing'
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal	[ónwá]	'he enters'
/l/	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral	[élà:ká']	'shell'
/r/	[r]	voiced alveolar flap	[òrà]	'reed'
/w/	[w]	voiced labial-velar semi-vowel	[àwà]	'soup'
/y/	[y] IPA [j]	voiced palatal semi-vowel	[èyá]	'daytime, afternoon'

## 2.62 Vowels

Vowels contrast in respect of the following distinctive features:

<u>tongue height</u>	<u>tongue position</u>	<u>duration</u>
close	front	short
half-close	central	long
open	back	

All back vowels are characterized by lip-rounding, front vowels by spreading of the lips.

/i/ [ɪ] close centralized-front very short vowel

occurs in closed syllables<sup>pieces</sup> except following y or  
a palatalized consonant,  
also in extended syllable-pieces medially preceding r

[ɛdɪm] 'bite'

[kɪrɪ] 'hut'

[ɪ] close (slightly less close than cardinal i) front  
short lax vowel

occurs in closed syllable-pieces following y,  
also in extended syllable-pieces except preceding r  
or following a palatalized consonant,  
also in prefatory syllable-pieces

[ɪdɪmɪ] 'calabash'

[ɛyɪm] 'onion'

[i] close front short vowel

occurs following palatalized consonants,  
also in open syllable-pieces

[ɛpyɪ 'bɛ] 'evil'

[ɛʃɪ] 'water'

/u/ [ʊ] close fronted-back very short vowel

occurs in closed syllable-pieces except following w  
or a labialized consonant,  
also in extended syllable-pieces preceding r

[ɛbʊm] 'breeze'

[fʊrɔ] 'to dismiss'

[ʊ] close (less close than cardinal u) back lax short  
IPA ɔ occurs in extended syllable-pieces except vowel  
preceding r or following w or a labialized consonant

[ɛkpʊkɔ] 'money'

[u] close back short vowel

occurs following w or a labialized consonant,  
also in open syllable-pieces

[ɛwʊrɔ] 'dress'

[ɛwʊ] 'goat'

/e/	[e:]	half-close front long vowel	[ɛ̀tɛ̀n]	'animal'
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	half-open front short vowel	[ɛ̀mɛ̀m]	'peace'
/a/	[a]	open central short vowel	[ɛ̀tɛ̀m]	'thicket'
/a:/	[a:]	open central long vowel	[ɛ̀tɛ̀a:m]	'gift'
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	open back short vowel	[ɛ̀rɔ̀ŋ]	'sky'
	IPA ɒ			
/ɔ:/	[ɔ:]	open back long vowel	[ɔ̀tɔ̀m]	'work'
	IPA ɒː			
/o/	[o:]	half-close back long vowel	[ɪbɔ̀m]	'yam'

## 2.7 Phoneme frequency

The following scale is based on a computer count of the occurrence of phonemes in text material. Vowels are counted as one set; however, in prefatory syllable-pieces there is no distinction made between e/ɛ and o/ɔ, both sounds being counted as ɛ and ɔ respectively. Consonants are also counted as one set, consonants of set 2, P T K m n ŋ being counted as b r k m n ŋ respectively. No distinction is made between syllabic nasals and non-syllabic nasals. Palatalized and labialized consonants are counted separately from their unmodified counterparts.

Figures are percentages of the total phoneme count.

<u>Vowels:</u>	over 15 per cent	a
	10-14 per cent	ɔ
	5- 9 per cent	ɛ
		i
	3- 4 per cent	e
		o
	1- 2 per cent	a:
		u
	less than 1 per cent	ɔ:



Consonants:

5- 9 per cent	n	less than 1 per cent	y
	m		ɱ
3- 4 per cent	k		kp
	r		w
<del>1-22 per cent</del>	b		t̪
1- 2 per cent	d		ɲw
	t		k̪
	ɲ		f̪
	kw		p
	ɸ		gb/kp
	s̪		v
	c		ɸy
	s		j
			n:
			py
			m:
			g
			l
			by
			f
			gw
			ɸ
			my

---

Note Not noted in the above description is the occurrence, in verbal syllable-pieces of the open-CV structure only, of labialization in conjunction with the consonant t̪. All three recorded ~~at~~ examples of verb roots of this structure with initial consonant t̪ exemplify this phenomenon. These are the only instances of labialization in conjunction with a non-velar consonant. eg. twú 'to touch' twò 'to be crumpled' cf. 2.2252. twó 'to abuse'

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## CHAPTER THREE

### TONE

3.1 Tone in Mbembe has two distinct functions. It may manifest choices both from the lexical level and from the grammatical level.

3.11 In its lexical function tone is comparable to phoneme units in that it may minimally distinguish two lexical items.

eg.	òkà	'mother'	gwó	'to drink'
	òká	'crab'	gwò	'to shave the head'
	èfá	'dog'	kwúm	'to sew; pierce'
	éfà	'power'	kwùm	'to chop something up small'
	èbò:ṇà	'branch of a tree'		
	èbò:ṇá	'rag'		

Lexical tone is directly related to the phonological hierarchy. Every verbal syllable-piece (2.2261, 3.22) and every nominal word-piece (2.31, 3.21) has a tone feature as one of its components.

3.12 In its grammatical function tone manifests directly some grammatical feature.

eg.	mótá	'he will go'	future tense, positive
	mòtá	'he won't go'	non-past tense, negative
	ònòṇ	òkwú	'someone is coming' clause with nuclear function in the sentence
	ónór	òkwú	'if someone comes' clause with subordinate function in the sentence

In conjunction with other factors tone **signals**:

- a) the nuclear, preliminary or subordinate function of clauses within the sentence (3.31, 3.32, 3.33)

- b) mood, tense and polarity features in the verbal group (3.3)
- c) the adjunct-locative function of the nominal phrase in the clause (3.41)
- d) the relative function of the clause, nominal phrase or bound pronoun within the nominal phrase (3.42)

Grammatical tone is not related to the phonological hierarchy since its occurrence is determined only through grammatical systems.

3.13 Lexical and grammatical tone patterns interact. This interaction may result in the neutralization of either lexical or grammatical distinctions, usually the former.

For example, the lexical distinction between

fù 'to steal'

and fú 'to be full'

is maintained in the indicative non-initiative neutral form of the verbal group if the clause of which the verbal group is a constituent has nuclear function in the sentence:

òfù 'he steals'

òfú 'he is full'

but if the clause has subordinate function in the sentence, then the distinction is neutralized:

ó'fú 'if he steals'

ó'fú 'if he is full'

The actual tone which occurs on any given syllable is therefore the result of the interaction of lexical and grammatical tone patterns and further of the interaction of underlying (latent) tones in elided syllables and the influence of tones on neighbouring syllables. These automatic morphophonemic tone changes will be described in 3.5.

3.14 The elements of the tonal phenomena in Mbembe can be illustrated from the following four sentences:

- |    |                               |                   |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | _____                         | _____             |
|    | oyen ano:ma mapyir            | ano:ma            |
|    | he-has shirts all             | shirts            |
| 2. | _____                         | _____             |
|    | oyen akoro mapyir             | akoro             |
|    | he-has machetes all           | machetes          |
| 3. | _____                         | _____             |
|    | oyen aga:na mapyir            | aga:na            |
|    | he-has wild-plums all         | wild-plums        |
| 4. | _____                         | _____             |
|    | oyen abe <del>ba</del> mapyir | abe <del>ba</del> |
|    | he-has cutting-grass all      | cutting-grass     |
|    | all                           |                   |

Symbolization: High tone - H - marked by '   
 Low tone - L - marked by `   
 Falling tone - HL - marked by ^   
 Rising tone - LH - marked by ˇ

High tone followed by a downstep (see below) - H' - marked by ˈ

The above set of sentences would therefore be written:

- |    |                                |          |
|----|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1. | óyén ánó:má mápyír             | HHHHHHH  |
| 2. | óyén ákórò mápyír              | HHHHLHH  |
| 3. | óyén ágá:ná' mápyír            | HHHHH'HH |
| 4. | óyén á'bé <del>bá</del> mápyír | HHH'HHHH |

Except where indicated, within the phonological phrase tones are written as they occur on elided forms. Where a vowel is obscured by elision this is indicated by the absence of a tone mark over that vowel. Where relevant the underlying, unelided tones are marked underneath the vowels.

The first sentence maintains a level high pitch on all syllables.

The second sentence has three pitches, high, low and a level a little below high. Every time a sequence of high tones is interrupted by the occurrence of one or more low tones, the high tones following the low tone are on a slightly lower pitch than those preceding it. This lowering of the pitch level of the high tone is therefore automatic since it can be predicted in terms of the intervening occurrence of low tone.

From the comparison of the first two sentences two tone levels are established, along with the phenomena of DOWNDRIFT, a predictable lowering of the pitch level of the high tone. Low tones are correspondingly lowered to maintain contrasts.

Sentence 3 again shows a slight lowering of the pitch of the high tone level, but in this instance the lowering is not predictable. Certain high tones are followed by this pitch drop, others are not. Comparing, for instance, sentences 1 and 3, it is evident that the words ánó:má 'shirts' and ágá:ná' 'wild <sup>lum</sup>pears' are identical in their grammatical function and occur in identical contexts. Both have high tone on all syllables, yet the final high tone of ánó:má is not followed by a pitch drop, while that of ágá:ná' is. This non-predictable pitch lowering will be termed DOWNSTEP.

Similar tonal features have been observed in West African languages as long ago as 1875 when Christaller wrote of the tones of Asante and Fante as "high tone abating by one step or successive steps..." (Christaller 1875 p.15 also quoted by Armstrong 1968 p.56). More recently the terms downdrift and downstep have been used in this connection. Armstrong (1968) distinguishes the terms in the sense used above. Stewart (1966) uses the term 'downstep' to cover both phenomena, distinguishing between 'automatic' and 'non-automatic' downstep. He prefers to use one term because of the similarity in phonetic realization

(both entail a similar slight drop in the high tone pitch level), and, as he seeks to show, they are also similar in their origin. He asserts that in Twi at least, and by implication assumes this is widespread, both originate from the overt (actual) or covert (latent) occurrence of a low tone.

Sentence 4 exemplifies the occurrence of 'latent' low tone in Mbembe. The tones on the noun àbébé when the word is in isolation are LHH. By the rules of tone elision (3.5) a word-initial basic low tone is manifested as high when it occurs immediately following a high tone. A high tone originating in this way is always followed by a downstep, whose presence may be explained by the underlying presence of low tone.

A further example of latent low tone is provided by the relative tone pattern (3.42). The relative tone pattern is manifested over pronouns as follows:

- |    |                  |                  |     |     |               |              |
|----|------------------|------------------|-----|-----|---------------|--------------|
| a) | over 3 syllables | HHL              | eg. | mfá | <u>sámínà</u> | 'our dogs'   |
| b) | over 2 syllables | HL               |     | mfá | <u>sá:bè</u>  | 'their dogs' |
| c) | over 1 syllable  | H <sup>̂</sup> L |     | mfá | <u>sé</u>     | 'his dogs'   |

Preceding a consonant the H<sup>̂</sup>L glide is manifested as H'

mfá sé' mápyír 'all his dogs'

Armstrong, speaking of 'latent' tone, says: "A latent or hidden character is one usually not heard in its own right. It makes its presence known by its effect on other elements in the system. Its origin may be regarded synchronically as arising within the morphophonology of the present language, or diachronically as arising from a previous state of the language, which one may deduce from comparison with related dialects." (Armstrong 1968 p.52).

Both examples of latent low tone in Mbembe given above have a synchronic origin. However, a high proportion of the occurrences



of downstep in Mbembe cannot be explained synchronically- for example, the example already cited of downstep following the final syllable of ágá:ná' (sentence 3). Downstep commonly occurs within a morpheme, eg. í-bá'rá' 'cloth', also other nominal patterns 3.21. It is possible that a study of related languages and dialects might provide evidence of the diachronic origin of such forms. One isolated instance may be cited in support of such a hypothesis: The word for 'hair' in Adun dialect ísísá' has a cognate form in Osopong dialect ísésirá. The CV structure of the Osopong form is regular, being an example of the 'partial-reduplicative' pattern described in 2.2262, while the Adun form is irregular and appears to be a contraction of an earlier form similar to the Osopong form with corresponding contraction of tones, the contraction of high and low tone being high tone with a following downstep.

3.15 A sample selection of sentences taken from text material demonstrates the extent of downstep and downdrift and the factors which contribute.

a)

---

ótím ágbàngbàn òbùbà ísô:m' s ípánòn pé' mápyír  
 he-used zinc he-covered houses of wives his completely  
 'he roofed his wives' houses with zinc completely'

In this sentence high tone has 5 phonetic pitch manifestations. The first lowering of the pitch level of the high tone is due to the intervening occurrence of low tone. The second lowering is non-predictable. The inherent tone pattern of ísô:m 'houses' is such that the final syllable carries a falling glide when it occurs finally in the phonological phrase, a high tone followed by a downstep in all other positions. The third lowering is again due to the intervening occurrence of low tone. There would in fact be

a lowering at this point even if there were no actual occurrence of low tone because of the origin of the high tones on the first two syllables of ìpà̀nè̀. Although inherently low these two syllables are high in the above utterance because of the interaction of the relative tone pattern (3.42). If occurring preceding a high tone the second of these two syllables would be followed by a downstep. The fourth lowering is due to the compression of the relative tone pattern on the pronoun (cf. 3.14 p.67).

Sentence a) illustrates the desirability of analyzing the lowered tone as a variation of high tone, rather than postulating 'mid' tone intermediary levels, which would mean that, not only would several levels of 'mid' have to be set up, but also that the same lexical item would be recorded on different tone levels. Compare, for example, the word mápyír in its occurrence in sentence a) and in sentences b) and c) below.

b) —————

òvǎ:nǒŋ òsɛ ípànǒŋ pé' mápyír pé mákwùn épyá ka é'só:ká  
chief he-sees wives his all who they- market in evening  
return

'the chief sees all his wives returning from market in the  
evening'

c) — —

---

kā:m ñde ǒ'vá:r kw ǒón' mápyír 'I am the chief of the  
I I-am chief of town all whole town'

There would also be severe restrictions on the distribution of both high and mid tones. It is apparent that, while the lowered high is lower than preceding high tones, it remains high in relation to all following tones.

### 3.2 Lexical tone

In this section the inherent lexical tone patterns of the nominal word-piece and the verbal syllable-piece are described.

#### 3.21 Tone patterns on the nominal word-piece<sup>1</sup>

Patterns throughout this section are exemplified by nouns since the full range of patterns occurs on the noun.

Tones on the prefatory syllable-piece are represented by the small letters h and l, while those on the radical syllable-piece are written with capital letters.

A cursory survey of tone patterns on the nominal word-piece shows that gliding tones occur only on the final syllable of the word-piece. Gliding tones can therefore be most economically explained if the following assumption is made:

Underlying tones on all non-final syllables in the word-piece are simple, being either high or low. Underlying tones on all final syllables are complex, being a combination of two tones, each of which may be either high or low.

The underlying tones on the final syllable may therefore be any of the following combinations:

$\widehat{HH}$  manifested as H

$\widehat{LL}$  manifested as L

$\widehat{HL}$  manifested as H followed by a downstep if occurring preceding a high tone. This downstep may be explained in terms of the latent presence of low tone. In certain word-piece patterns, specified below,  $\widehat{HL}$  is manifested as a falling glide when it occurs finally in the phonological phrase.

$\widehat{LH}$  manifested as H preceded by a downstep, which again may be explained in terms of the latent presence of low tone.

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1. I am very grateful to Professor J. Voorhoeve of Leiden University for his suggestions on the material described in this section.

All patterns which occur on the nominal word-piece can then be derived through the application of two rules.

1) Downstepped high tone, if downstepped because of the presence of latent low tone or overt low tone within the same syllable-piece, is always followed by a further downstep.

i.e. 'H → 'H'

2) The sequence LĤL occurring within the syllable-piece contracts to 'HL.

Patterns which occur on 2, 3, 4 and 5 syllable nominal word-pieces will be described in sections 3.211-4. The possible relation of these patterns to each other is described in 3.215. Tones on nominal word-pieces derived from verbal radical syllable-pieces are described in 3.216.

3.211 A system of 7 contrastive tone patterns occurs on the 2 syllable nominal word-piece.

	<u>underlying</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>actual tone</u> <u>as it occurs</u>		<u>examples</u>
		<u>finally</u> in the phon. phrase	<u>non-finally</u> ____C	
1.	hHH	hH	hH	é.pyá      á.gbá:n 'market'      'family group'
2.	lHH	lH	lH	ò.kpá      ò.dá:ŋ 'lid'      'foufou'
3.	hHL	hHL	hH'	ó.gbô      í.gbá:ŋ 'age-group'      'carrying basket'
4.	lHL	lHL	lH'	ò.kpô      è.sâ:ŋ 'rubber'      'guinea fowl'
5.	hLL	hL	hL	ó.gwù      é.kwòr 'maize'      'tortoise'
6.	lLL	lL	lL	è.kpà      ò.bà:ŋ 'bag'      'squirrel'
7.	hLH	h'H'/h'ĤL* h'H'		í.'kwá'      ó.'pâ:k 'parcel'      'spider'

\*If the radical syllable-piece has the structure open-CV, then the final syllable of pattern 7 is 'H' when occurring finally in the phonological phrase. If the radical syllable-piece has the structure closed-CVC then the final syllable has a falling glide in this position.

The only other pattern which could be derived from the elements described above but which does not actually occur in the data is \*1LH̃. Since the actual tone of this pattern would be 1H' there would be no contrast with pattern 4 except in final position in the phonological phrase. The two patterns may therefore have fallen together.

3.212 A system of 14 contrastive tone patterns occurs on the 3 syllable nominal word-piece.

The structure of the radical syllable-piece constituent of 3 syllable nominal word-pieces may be extended-CVCV (2.223) and non-reduplicative (2.2262), open-CV and full-reduplicative (2.221, 2 2262), closed-CVC and partial-reduplicative (2.222, 2.2262) or minor (2.227). There is no significant restriction on the tone patterns which occur on these different structures except that the closed-CVC and partial-reduplicative structure only occurs in conjunction with the 7 patterns marked with an asterisk below.

Alternative forms shown on the following chart are explained as follows:

Patterns 7, 8 and 10: The form with a final falling glide occurs phrase finally if the CV structure of the radical syllable-piece is closed-CVC and partial-reduplicative. The form with a final H' occurs in all other instances.

Patterns 11 and 12: Certain nouns of these patterns have alternative forms with a falling glide on the final syllable phrase-finally. Other nouns always have H' on this syllable. There is no apparent explanation for this.

<u>underlying</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>actual tone</u> <u>as it occurs</u>		<u>examples</u>
	<u>finally</u>	<u>non-finally</u>	
	in the phon. phrase		
1* hHHH	hHH	hHH	ó.nó:má 'shirt' ó.cécá:k 'rattle'
2* LH <sup>h</sup> H	LHH	LHH	è.bé <sup>h</sup> á 'cutting-grass' ò.gbégbék 'tick'
3* hHL <sup>h</sup> L	hHL	hHL	é.yónà 'friendship' é.kékè <sup>h</sup> 'floor mat'
4. LH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> } LH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> }	LHL	LHL	ò.yómò 'dry season'
5. hLL <sup>h</sup> L	hLL	hLL	é.kò:nà 'roof mat'
6* LLL <sup>h</sup> L	LLL	LLL	ò.rà:à 'river' ì.sèsò <sup>h</sup> 'smoke'
7* hHL <sup>h</sup> H	hH'H' / hH' <sup>h</sup> L	hH'H'	ó.bó'ṣ' 'corner' é.ré'rôm 'kind of snail'
8* LHL <sup>h</sup> H	LH'H' / LH' <sup>h</sup> L	LH'H'	ò.dé'kpá' 'cockroach' ò.ké'ká:n 'side, corner'
9. hL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> } hL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> }	hLH'	hLH'	ó.fònó' 'worm'
10* LLL <sup>h</sup> H } L <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> H }	L <sup>h</sup> LH' / L <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> L	L <sup>h</sup> LH'	è.nò:ná' 'finger' ì.dèdô:è 'mud'
11. hHH <sup>h</sup> L	hHH' / hHH <sup>h</sup> L	hHH'	é.kó:ṣá' 'elbow'
12. LHH <sup>h</sup> L	LHH' / LHH <sup>h</sup> L	LHH'	è.ḡóná' 'mortar'
13. hL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> L	h'HL	h'HL	í.'dó:mà 'forked stick'

All possible combinations of L or H on the prefatory syllable-piece, L or H on the 1st syllable of the radical syllable-piece and HH LL HL or LH on the final syllable of the radical syllable-piece are thus exemplified in the data.

One example occurs of the pattern h'H'H', the word é'dé'mé' 'water pot'. Since this does not fit into the chart above it is considered for the present as an exceptional form.

3.213 A system of 7 contrastive patterns occurs on the 4 syllable nominal word-piece.

All regular 4 syllable nominal word-pieces have the structure extended-CVCV and partial-reduplicative (2.223, 2.2262), or closed-CVC and nasal-reduplicative (2.222, 2.2262). Patterns are numbered below according to the numbering of the patterns on 2 and 3 syllable word-pieces to which they appear to be related.

	<u>underlying</u> <u>tones</u>	<u>actual</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>examples</u>
3.	hLLHL } hLHLL }	hLHL	é.dédórò 'star'
4.	lHLHL	lH'HL	ì.té'tá:kè 'dysentry'
5.	hHLLL	hHLL	ó.dédà:mà 'happiness'
6.	lLLLL	lLLL	ì.tètík-à 'face'
7.	hHHHL	hHH'H'	é.dédú'ŋó' 'knee'
8.	lHHHL	lHH'H'	ò.tétá:'ná' 'sorcery'
10.	lLLHL	lLLH'	è.tètà:ná' 'kind of ant'

There is no contrast between forms recorded in final and non-final positions in the phonological phrase.

3.214 6 contrastive patterns are recorded on 5 syllable nominal word-pieces, which have the structure ~~extended~~-CVCV and full-reduplicative. (2.223, 2.2262). Only 12 nouns of this type are recorded.

<u>underlying</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>actual</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>examples</u>
hHHHH <sup>h</sup>	hHHHH	ó.gbérégbéré 'kind of yam'
lHHHH <sup>h</sup>	lHHHH	ò.kómókómó 'cotton tree'
hHHHL <sup>h</sup>	hHHH'H'	ó.túkótúkó' 'kind of plant'
hHLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> hHLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	hHLLH'	é.gírègírè' 'kind of bean'
hHLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> hHLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	hHLLH	ó.kwúràkwúrà 'girl under circumcision'
hHLLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	hLLLL	ó.bérèbérè 'atmosphere'

3.215 The following chart is an attempt to show the correlation of patterns on nominal word-pieces of 2, 3 and 4 syllables. Tone patterns are given in the underlying form.

2 syllable	3 syllable	4 syllable
1. hH <sup>h</sup>	hHH <sup>h</sup>	
2. lH <sup>h</sup>	lHH <sup>h</sup>	
3. hL <sup>h</sup>	hHL <sup>h</sup>	hLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> } hLHL <sup>h</sup> } lHL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>
4. lH <sup>h</sup> } ?lL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup> }	lHL <sup>h</sup> } lLH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup> }	
5. hL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	hLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	hHLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>
6. lL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	lLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	lLLL <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>
7. hL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>	hHL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>	hHHL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>
8.	lHL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>	lHHL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>
9.	hLL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup> } hLH <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup> }	
10.	lLL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup> } lLH <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup> }	lLLL <sup>h</sup> H <sup>h</sup>
11.	hHH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	
12.	lHH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	
13.	hLH <sup>h</sup> L <sup>h</sup>	



3.216 The following patterns occur on nouns derived from verb-roots. All these patterns fall within the range described in sections 3.211, 3.212.

- a) Patterns formed from a verbal syllable-piece with inherent high tone:

<u>underlying</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>actual</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>examples</u>	
1HH	1H	̀bá 'marriage'	bá 'to marry'
hHH	hHH	érimá 'fighting'	ríma 'to fight'
hHLH	hH'H'	éjǐ'bá' 'goodness'	jíb 'to be good'
1HHL	1HH'	̀bá:ǵá' 'dirty'	báǵ 'to be dirty'

- b) Patterns formed from a verbal syllable-piece with inherent low tone:

<u>underlying</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>actual</u> <u>tone</u>	<u>examples</u>	
1LL	1L	ìpà 'harvest'	pà 'to harvest'
1LLL	1LL	èpìnè 'mistake'	pìns 'to make a mistake'
hLLH	hLH'	ócièé' 'thought'	cìè 'to think'
1LLH	1LH'	òjòrá' 'fear'	jòra 'to be afraid'

### 3.22 Tone patterns on the verbal syllable-piece

The inherent tone of all verbal syllable-pieces is either high or low.

eg.	fú 'to be full'	fù 'to steal'
	céè 'to make untidy'	cèè 'to let fall in drips'
	kwúm 'to sew, pierce'	kwùm 'to cut up small'
	bá:ka 'to hang back'	bà:ka 'to embrace'

### 3.3 Grammatical tone on the verbal group

In this section patterns on the simplest form of the verbal group are described. This consists of a person prefix (prefatory syllable-piece)<sup>1</sup> and a verb-root (verbal radical syllable-piece). A note on the extension of these patterns over auxiliaries in the verbal group is given in 7.02.

Patterns are described as they occur on a verbal group which is a constituent of a) a clause with nuclear function in the sentence (3.31) b) a clause with preliminary function in the sentence (3.32) c) a clause with subordinate function in the sentence (3.33). Finally patterns on verbal groups functioning in a clause complex are described (3.34).

As in the case of the nominal word-piece, many of the patterns can be explained if a complex tone is postulated on the final syllable. Underlying tones are included, where relevant, in square brackets.

3.31 6 contrastive patterns <sup>occur</sup> on a verbal group which is a constituent of a nuclear clause.

Patterns are shown on the chart below as they occur in final position in the phonological phrase.

A verb-root may consist of either 2 syllables (extended-CVCV syllable-piece) or 1 syllable (closed-CVC or open-CV syllable-piece). Patterns which occur on one syllable forms are compressions of the pattern on two syllable forms. On the chart, 1 syllable patterns are shown underneath the corresponding 2 syllable pattern. As before (3.2) tone on the prefix is represented by the small letters h and l.

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1. No prefix occurs in the imperative (pattern VI).

	with inherent <u>high</u> tone verb-root		with inherent <u>low</u> tone verb-root	
I	1HH'	[1HĤL]	1LL	[1LL̂L]
	1H		1L	
II	hHL	[hHL̂L]	hHL	[hHL̂L]
	hĤL		hĤL	
III	hHH'	[hHĤL]	hHL	[hHL̂L]
	hH		hĤL	
IV	hHH	[hHĤH]	hHH	[hHĤH]
	hH		hH	
V	1HH'	[?1HL̂H]	1LH'	[1LL̂H]
	1H'		1H'/1L̂H*	
VI	$\widehat{\text{HHL}}^*$	[ $\widehat{\text{HHL}}$ ]	$\widehat{\text{LHL}}^{**}$	[ $\widehat{\text{LHL}}$ ]
	$\widehat{\text{HHL}}^*$		$\widehat{\text{LHL}}^{**}$	

### Contractions

The two syllable pattern HH' with underlying tones HHL contracts to H on one syllable (patterns I and III).

All other contractions are regular:

LL	[LL̂L]	to	L	(I)
HL	[HL̂L]	to	ĤL	(II, III)
HH	[HĤH]	to	H	(IV)
HH'	[HL̂H]	to	H'	(V)
LH'	[LL̂H]	to	H'	on a open-CV syllable-piece (V)
			L̂H'	on a closed-CVC syllable-piece
$\widehat{\text{HHL}}$	[ $\widehat{\text{HHL}}$ ]	*manifested as a falling glide from high to low on the final or only syllable.		
$\widehat{\text{LHL}}$	[ $\widehat{\text{LHL}}$ ]	**manifested as a falling glide from mid to low on the final or only syllable.		

Elision patterns and forms occurring phrase medially preceding a consonant are described in 3.53.

Note In patterns II and IV there is no distinction between patterns occurring when the inherent tone of the verb-root is high and when it is low.

When the inherent tone of the verb-root is high, pattern III is similar to pattern I<sub>h</sub>. <sup>(except for H tone prefix)</sup> If the verb-root has low tone, pattern III is similar to pattern II.

Tone patterns realize the following grammatical features:

Pattern I realizes

a) the neutral, non-initiative tense feature (6.15123, 7.15123)

eg.<sup>1</sup>      òbíná' 'he gets up'      òyímà 'he lies down'  
         òcí 'he eats'      òtò 'he falls'

b) the perfect tense feature (6.1511, 7.1511)

eg.      kó'bíná' 'he has risen'      kó'yímà 'he has lain down'  
         kó'cá' 'he has eaten'      kó'tà 'he has fallen'

The prefix is high in these forms because of the influence of the perfect marker k- (3.561).

Pattern II realizes

a) the static tense feature (6.15122, 7.15122)

eg.      nókpéè 'he learns'      nócíè 'he thinks'  
         nócí 'he eats'      nóťò 'he falls'

---

1. The following verb-roots are used in examples in this section: with inherent high tone      bína 'to get up'  
cí 'to eat'      kpéè 'to learn'      kpóna 'to delay, remain'  
with inherent low tone      cíè 'to think'      kwùna 'to return'  
sàka 'to unload'      tò 'to fall'      yíma 'to lie down'

b) the minor mood feature (6.16,7.16)

The tone pattern is manifested both on the auxiliary and on the main verb in this type of verbal group.

eg.    *ónín' ma ókpéèè*    'he is here learning'

ónin' ma ócî            'he is here eating'

ónín'ma ócíbè 'he is here thinking'

ónín'ma ótδ      'he is here falling'

Pattern III realizes

a) the future tense feature (6.15121, 7.15121)

eg. mókpóná' 'he will remain' móyímà 'he will lie down'

móci 'he will eat'      móto 'he will fall'

b) the subjunctive/positive mood feature (6.13, 7.13)

eg. ókpóná' 'he should remain' óyímà 'he should lie down'

óci 'he should eat'      ótô 'he should fall'

Pattern IV realizes

a) the neutral, initiative feature (6.15123, 7.15123)

eg.    *óképéé*    'he learns'                      *óciéé*    'he thinks'

óci 'he eats'      ótó 'he falls'

b) the imperative/negative feature (6.11, 7.11)

eg. kàkpóná 'don't delay'      kàcìbée 'don't think of it'

kàcí      'don't eat'      kàtǒ      'don't fall'

The prefix is low because of the tonal influence of the negative marker k- (3.562). The negative marker m- has the same effect in c) below.

c) the non-past negative tense feature (6.152, 7.1523)

eg. mòkpóná 'he won't delay'    mòcìbè 'he won't think'

mòcí 'he won't eat'      mòtó 'he won't fall'



- eg.      sà:be    ápyíré    sá      'even if you arrive there'  
            sà:bé    sá    kápyíré'    'even if you don't arrive there'

3.332 If the non-suppositional feature is selected (6.182) tense features are selected as in **indicative nuclear** clauses, except that there is no contrast between initiative and non-initiative.

Perfect, future and static features are realized by tone patterns V, III and II respectively, as in nuclear clauses, with the occurrence of a downstep influence immediately preceding the tense marker. If the tense marker is the first morpheme in the phonological phrase it is preceded by open transition [ə] carrying high tone.

- eg. ékòkpónǎ' 'if he has delayed (the effect of the  
downstep preceding k- is  
ékòpyírà 'if he has arrived' to depress the following  
tone to low 3.561)  
é'mókpónǎ' 'if he will delay'  
é'mópyírè 'if he will arrive'  
é'nókpôn 'if he delays'  
é'nópyírè 'if he arrives'

Delayed, past and non-past negative features are realized by tone patterns IV, V and IV respectively, as in nuclear clauses. Open transition carrying high tone followed by a downstep influence occurs preceding the initial consonant of the subordinate negative particle nà.

- eg. éna òtùm ópyírá 'if he hasn't arrived yet'  
 éna òpyìré 'unless he arrives, if he does not arrive'  
 éná mòpyíré 'if he will not arrive'

The neutral tense feature is realized by tone pattern V on the verbal group and high tone with a following downstep influence on the prefix.

eg.      ó'kpébé'      'if he learns'  
         ópyìré'      'if he arrives'

3.333 Tone patterns on verbal groups functioning as constituents of a clause in relative relation in the nominal phrase (8.64) are exactly as in non-suppositional subordinate clauses (3.332).

eg.      ònòŋ kw ó'kpéé'      'someone who learns'      (neutral)  
           person who he-learns

          ònòŋ kwé kòkpóná'      'someone who has delayed'      (perfect)  
           person who he-has-delayed

          ònòŋ kwé na òkpéé'      'someone who doesn't learn'      (past  
           person who he-doesn't-learn      neg.)

3.34 When the verbal group functions as a constituent of a clause functioning in a paratactic clause complex (6.201), the following modifications of the patterns described above apply:

i) If the verbal group has the features subjunctive/positive, imperative/positive or future (i.e. any feature which is realized by tone pattern III or VI), or if it functions in a clause in preliminary relation in the sentence (3.331), the distinctive tone pattern is manifested on every verbal group in the complex.

eg. móbína ódéb ɔ́tɔ̀:k 'he will get up and buy something'

This may sometimes result in a 'chain reaction' of tones on the verbal group: (3.572 c))

eg.    sɔ̃:ŋ    dèb    ɔ́tò:k    'go and buy something'

ii) In all other instances the distinctive tone pattern is manifested on the first verbal group in the complex, all subsequent verbal groups have tone pattern I. Tone pattern I may be considered the most neutral, 'unmarked' tone pattern.



### 3.4 Grammatical tone on items other than the verbal group

#### 3.41 Locative tone

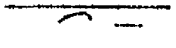

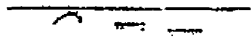
When a nominal phrase functions in adjunct/locative relation in the clause (6.33) this relation is signalled by the preceding occurrence of a relator (sa, ma, ña, ka) and by the locative tone pattern extended over the noun or pronoun functioning as head of the nominal phrase and interacting with the inherent lexical tones of that noun or pronoun.

Tone patterns associated with the relators sa 'distant relation' ma 'immediate relation' ña 'neutral relation' are the same (3.411). Those associated with ka 'neutral relation' are slightly different (3.412). Tone patterns on pronouns are described in 3.413.

3.411 Locative tone associated with ma, sa and ña is manifested on nouns as follows:

i) Whatever the inherent lexical tone of the 1st syllable of the noun, this syllable becomes a high glide with a slight downward turn, ending on a pitch higher than any following tone.

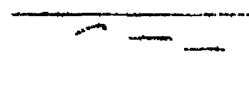
eg.

		
ña:şı	ñi:kwùkwù	ñe:dé'mé
'in the water'	'in the box'	'in the water pot'
àşı 'water'	íkwùkwù 'box'	é'dé'mé 'water pot'

Examples are shown in their elided form, the final vowel of the relator being dropped according to regular vowel elision principles (2.421). The elided vowel is long if the tone is gliding.

ii) When the inherent lexical tone of both of the first two syllables of the noun is low, then the 2nd syllable becomes H' (phrase finally H̄L). Otherwise the 2nd syllable is unmodified.

eg.

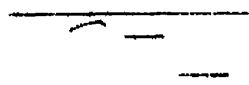


ñe:ké'ká'

'in the stream'

èkèkà'

'stream'



ño:gbá:rè

'on the floor'

ògbà:rè

'floor'



ño:bon

'in the town'

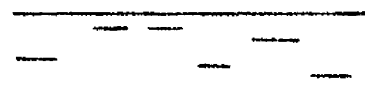
òbòn

'town'

iii) If the relator is immediately preceded by a downstep influence of any source, then the following modification of i) applies:


a) If the inherent lexical tones of the first 2 syllables of the noun are either both high, or both low, the tone of the 1st syllable in the locative pattern is low.

eg.



òkpóná' ñògbá:rè

'it remained on the floor'




òkpóná' ñìkírà

'it remained in the hut'

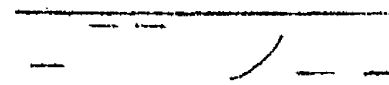
b) If the inherent lexical tones of the first 2 syllables of the noun are other than HH or LL, then the tone on the 1st syllable of the locative pattern is a LH' glide.

eg.



òkpóná' ñá:sí

'it remained in the water'



òkpóná' ñí:kwùkwù

'it remained in the box'

Rare alternative forms occur when nouns with lexical tones as in a) above have a LH' glide on the 1st syllable in the locative pattern as described in b).

3.412 The locative tone pattern associated with ka is similar to that described in 3.411 with the following modifications:

There is no downward glide on the 1st syllable of the noun. Inherent tones LL become HH', LH becomes H'H, otherwise inherent tones of the noun remain unmodified. A downstep influence preceding the relator ka has no effect on the subsequent tones other than the usual lowering of the high tone pitch level.

eg.

kéké'ká'	kóôôn	kíkírá
'in the stream'	'in the town'	'in the hut'
òkpóǹá' kóǵbá:rè	òkpóǹá' kíkírá	
'it remained on the floor'	'it remained in the hut'	

3.413 When a pronoun functions as head of the nominal phrase in locative relation, locative patterns are as follows:

The vowel of the relator remains unelided since all free pronouns begin with a consonant. Relators have allomorphic forms mi, ñi, si and ki, which occur preceding the velar consonant k.

The tone on the vowel of the relator is

- a) a high glide with a slight downward turn if the relator is sa, ña or ma
- b) H' if the relator is ka.

However, when a downstep influence precedes the relator, then the tone on all relators is

- a) low if the following syllable has high tone
- b) LH' glide if the following syllable has low tone.

If the pronoun is of the singular group: ka:m '1st'  
 then the tone on the pronoun is H', ko '2nd'  
 (HĹ phrase finally). ke '3rd'

If the pronoun is of the plural group: mina '1st'  
 then the tone on the final syllable of bôŋa '2nd'  
 the pronoun is low. If the pronoun is bé '3rd'  
 disyllabic, then the 1st syllable is H.

eg.

sí: ké' ka óôôn	sá: bè ka óôôn
in him in town	in them in town
'in his town'	'in their town'

òkpóná' <u>sù</u> k' ka óhôn	òkpóná' <u>sá:</u> b' ka óhôn
'he delayed in his town'	'he delayed in their town'

### 3.42 Relative tone

The relative tone pattern has two, associated, functions. Firstly, in conjunction with the tone patterns of the verbal group described in 3.332 and 3.333 it signals the subordinate function of a clause in the sentence, or its relative function in the nominal phrase. It is manifested over the nominal phrase functioning as subject of the clause. Secondly, it signals the relative function of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in a nominal phrase.

The phonetic manifestation of the relative tone pattern is similar, but not identical to that of the locative pattern associated with ka, described in 3.412 above. Patterns are described first as they are manifested on a noun which functions as head of a nominal phrase having the functions described above.

a) If the inherent tones of the first 2 syllables of the noun are neither LL nor LH, then the inherent tones of the noun remain unmodified in the relative pattern.

b) If the inherent tones of the first two syllables of the noun are LL, these tones become HH' in the relative pattern (HH'L phrase finally).

eg.      ónón òtô    'if someone falls'    (ónón 'person')  
             èfá c ónón 'someone's dog'

c) If the inherent tones of the first two syllables of the noun are LH then

i) if the nominal phrase in which the noun occurs is the subject of a relative or subordinate clause, then the 1st syllable of the noun is manifested as H in the relative pattern, without a following downstep.



### 3.5 Morphophonemic tone changes

In this section a summary is presented of the more important automatic tonal changes which are triggered by the juxtaposition of certain lexical and/or grammatical tone patterns and by vowel elision (2.42).

3.51 The following chart shows the tones which result from the elision of two vowels, the 1st vowel being the final vowel of a nominal syllable-piece (excluding the demonstrative), the 2nd vowel being a nominal prefix.

			<u>2nd vowel</u>	
			L	H
<u>1st vowel</u>	[ <u>L</u> L]	L	L	'H
	[ <u>H</u> H]	H	H'	H
	[ <u>L</u> H]	H'	H'	H/H'*
	[ <u>H</u> L]	H'L	H'	H'

Throughout section 3.5 the same rules of tonal elision apply where the second element is a syllabic nasal. i.e. when the sequence vowel--syllabic nasal occurs.

Underlying tones of the first vowel are shown in square brackets.

\*There seems to be variation between these two forms among different speakers.

eg.      ònán / ñwà / ètèn > ònánñwètèn  
          he-gave child meat                    'he gave the child meat'

         ònán / ñwà / ónó:má > ònánñ'wónó:má  
          he-gave child shirt                    'he gave the child a shirt'

3.52 When two vowels are elided, the 1st vowel being the final vowel of a nominal syllable-piece, the 2nd vowel being a verbal prefix, tones on the elided vowel are as described in 3.51, except that low tone preceding high tone is elided to low tone. The tone of the verbal prefix is less stable than that of the nominal prefix.

eg.      ñwà / ókwú > ñwòkwú 'the child comes'  
          child he-comes

òtḗ / ókwú > òtḡkwú 'father comes'  
 father he-comes

ékwâ / ékwú > ékwé'kwú 'the snail comes'  
 snail it-comes

3.53 The following patterns occur when two vowels elide, the 1st vowel being the final vowel of a verbal syllable-piece, the 2nd vowel being a nominal prefix.

If the structure of a verbal syllable-piece is closed-CVC, tonal elision patterns are exactly as for an extended-CVCV structured syllable-piece. i.e. as if a final vowel occurred. Patterns described in a) below therefore apply both to closed-CVC and extended-CVCV structures.

a) If the verbal syllable-piece has the structure closed-CVC or extended-CVCV, tones on the elided vowel are as follows. Tones occurring on the final vowel of the verbal syllable-piece preceding a consonant are also shown preceding a consonant for comparison.

			<u>2nd vowel</u>		<u>preceding a</u> <u>consonant</u>
			L	H	
<u>1st</u> <u>vowel</u>		[ <u>LL</u> ] L	L	H	L
		[ <u>LH</u> ] H'			
	if preceded by high tone		L	H	H'
	if preceded by low tone		H'	H	H'
		[ <u>HL</u> ] H'	H'	H	H'
		[ <u>HH</u> ] H	H'	H	H
		[ <u>HLL</u> ] <u>HLL</u>			
	if preceded by high tone		H'	H	H
	if preceded by low tone		H'	H	L

The following paradigm illustrates forms where the 2nd vowel is low tone, using the verbs *déè* 'to buy' and *yà:ke* 'to tear' and the noun *òtò:k* 'thing'.

<i>òyà:kè</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>òyà:kòtò:k</i>	cf. 3.31 patterns I, II, III
		'he tears something'	
<i>ó'déèé</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>ó'déèòtò:k</i>	pattern V
		'if he buys something'	
<i>óyà:ké</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>óyà:kótò:k</i>	pattern V
		'if he tears something'	
<i>òdéè</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>òdéèótò:k</i>	pattern I, III
		'he buys something'	
<i>ódéèé</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>ódéèótò:k</i>	pattern IV
		'he buys something'	
<i>déè</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>déèótò:k</i>	pattern VI
		'buy something'	
<i>yà:ke</i> / <i>òtò:k</i>	>	<i>yà:kótò:k</i>	pattern VI
		'tear something'	

b) If the verbal syllable-piece has the structure open-CV elision patterns are more complex because of the compression of the pattern. cf. 3.31 p.78.

			<u>2nd vowel</u>		<u>preceding a consonant</u>
			L	H	
1st vowel	[LL̂L]	L	L	H	L
	[HL̂L]	ĤL	H'	H'	H'
	[HL̂H]	H'	L	H	H'
	[LL̂H]	H'	L	H	H'
	[HĤL]	H	H'	H'	H
	[HĤH]	H	H'	H	H
	[HĤLL]	HĤLL	H'	H	H
	[LĤLL]	LĤLL	H'	H	L

eg. *òkpè* / *ónó:má* > *òkpónó:má* 'he sells the shirt'  
pattern I

*mókpé* / *ónó:má* > *mókpónó:má* 'he will sell the shirt'  
pattern II, III



The <sup>tone</sup>elision pattern of the final vowel of a verbal syllable-piece with a vowel which is a verbal prefix is the same as preceding a nominal prefix except that where L precedes H the elided tone is low. cf. 3.51.

### 3.54 Tone patterns of the demonstrative

In isolation the demonstrative has the tone pattern

LH eg. ñwó 'that'

LHL ñwómà 'this' which has an alternative,  
contracted form LH̃ ñwâ 'this'

The initial low tone is dropped when the demonstrative occurs following any other item within a phonological phrase and does not modify the preceding tone. The tonal effect of the demonstrative prefix therefore differs from that of other nominal prefixes.

eg. ánó:má / ñbó > ánó:mámbo 'those shirts'

The tone of the final syllable of the demonstrative enters the same elision patterns as the final syllable of other nominal word-pieces (3.51, 3.52), except that the final tone of the contracted form, if elided with a low tone, is elided to low if preceded by a downstep influence.

eg. ágá:ná' / ñbâ / àtá:n > ágá:nám̃bâ'tá:n 'these three wild plums'

compare:

ánó:má / ñbâ / àtá:n > ánó:mám̃bâ'tá:n 'these three shirts'

ágá:ná' / ñbó / àtá:n > ágá:nám̃bâ'tá:n 'those three wild plums'

### 3.55 Tone patterns of the pronoun

The structure of the pronominal syllable-piece and the elision patterns of the final vowel are described in 2.23 and 2.422. The following tone elision patterns apply in all positions except when locative or relative patterns interact, cf. 3.413, 3.42.

a) Preceding a vowel or syllabic nasal with inherent low tone, the final syllable of the pronoun elides to H' (sometimes with a slight upward glide).

eg.  $k\bar{o} / \bar{a}s\acute{e} > k\acute{a}'s\acute{e}$  'you see'  
you you-see

$b\bar{e} / \bar{a}n\bar{o}n / \bar{a}f\grave{a} > b\bar{e}n\bar{o}n\bar{a}f\grave{a}$  'those two people'  
they people two

The pronoun ka:m '1st person sing.', although having a final consonant, affects the following tone in the same way:

eg.  $ka:m / \eta\eta w\grave{e}r / m\grave{e}\eta kp\acute{e}\acute{e} > k\grave{a}:m\eta\eta w\grave{e}m\grave{e}\eta kp\acute{e}\acute{e}$   
I book I-won't-learn 'I won't learn to read'

b) Preceding a vowel or syllabic nasal with inherent high tone,

i. if the 2nd vowel is a verbal prefix, then the final syllable of the pronoun elides to L

eg.  $k\bar{o} / \acute{a}m\acute{a}:n / m\acute{e}m\grave{a} > k\grave{a}m\acute{a}:mm\acute{e}m\grave{a}$  'Where were you born?'  
you you-born where?

$ka:m / \eta kp\acute{e}n... > k\grave{a}:m\eta kp\acute{e}n... 'I am called...'$   
I I-am-called

ii. if the 2nd vowel is a nominal prefix, then the final syllable of the pronoun elides to H'

eg.  $b\bar{e} / \acute{a}n\acute{o}:m\acute{a} / \bar{a}f\grave{a} > b\bar{e}'n\acute{o}:m\acute{a}f\grave{a}$  'those two shirts'  
those shirts two

c) Preceding a consonant, unless the consonant is a clitic with associated tone (3.56), all syllables of the pronoun are low tone.

eg.  $mina / m\acute{a}p\eta y\acute{r} \quad m\grave{in}\bar{a}m\acute{a}p\eta y\acute{r}$  'we all'  
we all

d) Phrase finally, all syllables of the pronoun are low tone.

### 3.56 Tone patterns associated with clitics

For the description of clitics see section 2.24.

3.561 The perfect clitic k- (6.1511) elides with any following vowel or syllabic nasal to H'.

eg.      ḳ / ʔn̩s:má / ðébéá' > ḳʔ'n̩s:mó'débéá'    'he has bought  
             shirts            he-has-bought    a shirt'

However, where a downstep influence precedes the clitic *k-*, the inherent tone of the following syllable is unmodified.

eg.            é'kónó:mó'débéá'      'if he has bought a shirt'

íṣṓ:m / k / ìtà > íṣó:ṛkìtà 'the houses have fallen'

Preceding a consonant, the clitic k- is followed by open transition with H' tone.

eg.      k / mĩna / àfà                  >    k<sub>e</sub>mĩnáfà    'you have surprised  
             us             you-have-surprised    us'

Preceding the singular pronouns, ka:m, kə, kə, the clitic k- assimilates to the initial consonant of the pronoun but retains its tonal effect.

eg.      ḳ / ka:m / àfà                  >    ká:m'áfà         'you have surprised  
me           you-have-surprised     me'

3.562 The negative clitics k- and m- (7.152) have associated tone similar to the tone of the final syllable of a pronoun (3.55). Tone elision patterns are therefore as follows:

a) Preceding a prefix which has low tone in its unelided form, the tone of the negative clitic elides to H'

[illegible]

b) Preceding a verbal prefix with high tone in its unelided form, the tone of the negative clitic elides to low

eg. k / ákǎ:ná > kǎkǎ:ná 'don't help'  
do-not-help (grammatical tone pattern IV)

Negative clitics do not occur preceding a nominal prefix or a consonant.

When immediately preceded by either a pronoun, or the plural clitic m- (3.563), the tone associated with the negative clitic reacts upon the final tone of the preceding item. Under the conditions described in a) above, the final tone of this preceding item is low. Under conditions described in b) it is high.

eg. kǎ / k / ǒsé > kǎkó'sé' 'he didn't see him'  
him he-didn't see

m / k / ǒkpébé > ǎkó'kpébé' 'we didn't learn'  
plu. we-didn't-learn

m / k / ákǎ:ná > ǎkǎkǎ:ná 'don't help (plu.)!'  
plu. do-not-help

mǎ / m / ǒsé > mǎmǒsé 'he won't see us'  
us he-won't-see

3.563 The plural clitic m-<sup>(6.17)</sup> also has associated tone similar to the tone of the final syllable of a pronoun. Tone elision patterns are therefore as follows:

a) Preceding a vowel or syllabic nasal with inherent low tone, the tone of the plural clitic elides to H'

eg. m / ǎkpébé > mǎ'kpébé' 'they learn'  
plu. they-learn (grammatical tone pattern I)

m / ǎnǎn / k / ǒsé > mǎnǎnǎkó'sé' 'we didn't see anyone'  
plu. person we-didn't-see

b) Preceding a vowel or syllabic nasal with high tone in the unelided form, the tone of the plural marker elides as follows:

i. if the 2nd vowel is a verbal prefix, then the tone on the elided syllable is L

eg. m / ókpébé' > mòkpébé' 'we should learn'  
 plu. we-should-learn (grammatical tone pattern III)

ii. if the 2nd vowel is a nominal prefix, then the tone on the elided syllable is H

eg. m / épyá / k / àtá' > mé'pyáká'tá' 'they didn't go to market'  
 plu. market they-didn't-go

c) Preceding a consonant the plural clitic has low tone, unless the consonant is a negative clitic (cf. 3.562.c)).

eg. m / k / òkpébé' > ñkó'kpébé' 'we have learnt'  
 plu we-have-learnt

3.564 The relative marker and non-suppositional subordinating link (6.183, 6.182) are always associated with the relative tone pattern, which is described in 3.42. Preceding a consonant these clitics are followed by open transition carrying high tone.

eg. ànòn / p / m / àtá' > ànòmpémá'tá' 'people who are going'  
 people who plu. they-go

### 3.57 Tonal influence 'through' consonants

#### 3.571 Tonal influence through a final consonant

Morphophonemic tone changes occur not only when two vowel segments elide, but also when a closed syllable occurs preceding a vowel or syllabic nasal. Tone patterns which occur when the closed syllable is a verbal syllable-piece or a pronominal syllable-piece are described in 3.53 and 3.55 respectively. Patterns which occur when the closed syllable is a nominal syllable-piece are as follows:



ónó:má / bíròbíré > ónó:mábí**í**ròbíré 'a small shirt'  
 shirt small

- b) In complex nouns, if the initial syllable of a radical syllable-piece is inherently low, it is manifested as H' (H̄L if occurring in phrase final position) if preceded by a high tone. This does not apply in the clausal type of complex noun (9.1322).

The grammatical structure of the complex noun is described in 9.132. In the favourite type (9.1321), if the inherent tone of the prefix of either of the constituent nouns is high or high followed by downstep, then the tone of the prefix of the complex noun is high or high followed by downstep (H' dominating H).

eg. ànà 'oil' épyá 'market' éná'pyá 'trading in oil'  
 óşó:m 'house' ém:à 'mouth' éşó:mmà 'threshold'  
 òká:rá 'european' icèn 'eye' àká:rácên 'spectacles'

- c) In grammatical tone patterns III and VI only (3.31), the tone of a verbal radical syllable-piece is depressed to low if preceded by a downstep influence. This is the only instance in which a verb root with inherent high tone may be manifested as low.

eg. módê / ónó:má' /òbó:k > módónémó'bó:k 'he will put in his hand'

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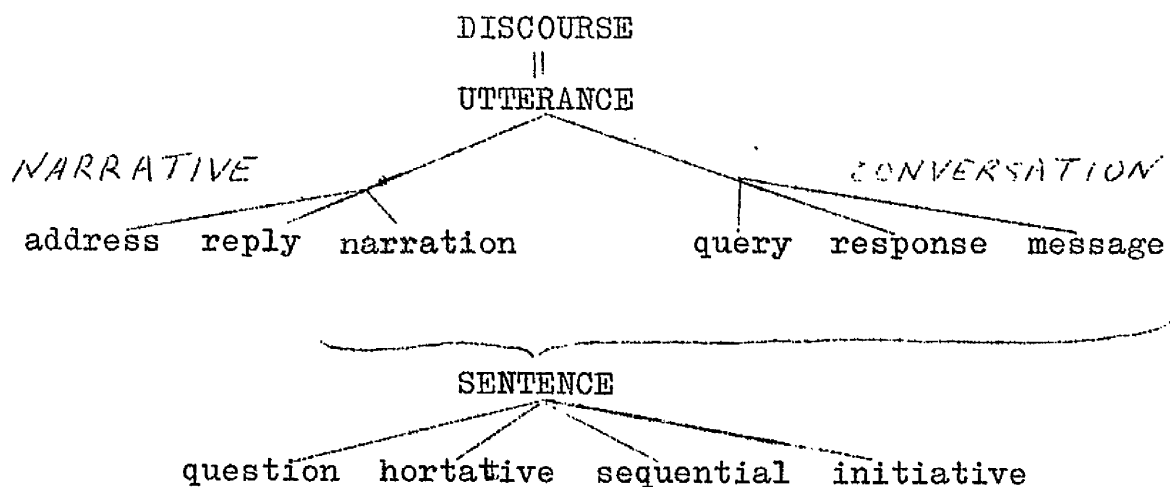
## CHAPTER FOUR

### UNITS ABOVE THE SENTENCE

4.0 The main purpose of the description of units higher than the sentence is to demonstrate the function of the sentence and the place of such items as exclamations, response words and nominal phrases in vocative relation in the grammar. Only those factors which are directly relevant to this purpose are described.

Two units above the sentence are set up, DISCOURSE and UTTERANCE. Like other units, they are defined partially by their place in the hierarchy. However the function of the sentence in the utterance, and of the utterance in the discourse, is somewhat different from the function of the constituents of other basic units in the structure of the unit of the rank above, being univariate rather than multivariate.

The diagram below gives a summary representation of the hierarchical relationship of the sentence, utterance and discourse. Units are represented in capital letters, classes of units in small letters.



4.1 The DISCOURSE is the highest rank relevant to linguistic behaviour. It comprises the total speech interaction of one or more (normally at least two) individuals on a given occasion.

4.2 The discourse consists of UTTERANCE units. The utterance may be described as a complete speech action by one individual, bounded either by silence or by the speech action of another individual. It is the domain within which the 1st person singular pronoun has a constant referent. The utterance is further marked by the fact that a sentence of the sequential class (5.3) may never occur as its first constituent.

The following classes of utterance are set up:

query	}	<u>conversation</u> classes
response		
message		
address	}	<u>narrative</u> classes
reply		
narration		

#### 4.21 Conversation utterances

4.211 Query and response utterances have reciprocal distribution in that a query normally precedes a response. (For a note on rhetorical questions cf. 5.132). Further, the form of the query determines to some extent the form of the following response in that information given in the query may be omitted in the response. For this reason a response utterance is often grammatically truncated. There is also a restricted sequence of tenses.

The constituents of a query utterance are sentence units, the final constituent always being a sentence of the question class (5.1). The constituents of a response utterance are sentences, the first sentence constituent being an initiative sentence (5.4). Where the preceding question is specified as polar (5.11), a response word occurs preceding the initiative sentence. Both the response word (except ěěě and ě?ěo) and the initiative sentence are followed by the final marker -e (5.8).

Response words comprise:

íyè 'yes' affirmative response to affirmative query

mmá 'no' negative response to affirmative query

eg. ko àta épyá-ǒ response: íyè-è/(kà:m òta épyá-è)  
 you you-go market? yes I I-go market  
 or: mmá-è/(kà:m épyá kén'tá-è)  
 no I market I-not-go

cf. text B.12-13

ééé affirmative response to negative query

éʔéó negative response to negative query

òwé: may be freely translated 'I don't know'

The last three items are outside the major phonological patterns of the language.

eg. épyá ká'tá-ǒ response: ééé / (kà:m épyá kén'tá-è)  
 market did-you-not-go? no I market I-didn't-go  
 'didn't you go to market?' 'No, I didn't go to market'  
 or: éʔéó / (kʲé'pya n'tà-è)  
 yes market I-did-go  
 'yes, I did go to market'

4.212 Message utterances consist of one or more sentences of which the first is specified as either initiative (5.4) or hortative (5.2). Subsequent sentences may be hortative, initiative or sequential. For examples of message utterances cf. text B 7-11, 14 C 5-6 D 19-21

4.213 Certain utterances may be further described as greetings because of their restricted lexical content and their strictly determined sequence. Greetings occur typically at the beginning and end of a conversational discourse, exemplifying phatic communication, being important for their social function rather than their information content.

Typical discourse final sequence of greetings:

- |    |          |                 |                           |
|----|----------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | message  | kà:m mɛ́n'mfóná | 'I am about to leave'     |
| 2. | query    | mɛ́n'áfóná-ǒ    | 'Are you about to leave?' |
| 3. | response | íyè-è           | 'Yes'                     |
| 4. | message  | sò:ŋ kɛ́        | 'Go well then'            |

#### 4.214 Exclamations

Exclamations may occur utterance initially in conversation utterances, or, more rarely, utterance medially in conversation utterances. Utterances occur which consist only of an exclamation- these may be classed as minor utterances. eg. text B 25 C 28

The most common exclamations comprise:

- |    |                                      |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| wô |                                      |
| há | All indicate some degree of surprise |
| à: | or remonstrance.                     |
| ca | eg. text B 21 C 6, 24                |

#### 4.215 Vocative

All conversation utterances (except the response) may have a Nominal Phrase in vocative relation as a constituent. A NP<sup>voc</sup> normally occurs initially in the utterance, being preceded by an exclamation if one occurs. A NP<sup>voc</sup> may also occur in the explanatory introduction section of a narration utterance (4.22).

A Nominal Phrase in vocative relation has no structural role within any of the sentence constituents of the utterance\*. It is therefore convenient to consider it as a direct constituent of the utterance. A phrase in this relation carries a separate intonation contour, as also do response words and exclamations.

The nucleus of a nominal phrase in vocative relation is most commonly either a personal proper name (8.12) or a noun denoting a personal relationship (eg. *tátà* 'father'). The form *áyí* 'friend' occurs commonly as NP<sup>voc</sup> and is recorded only very rarely in any other relation.

For examples of NP<sup>voc</sup> cf. texts B 7 C 24 D 19, 25

\*A very restricted set of nominal phrases may function in vocative relation as a constituent of an imperative clause (6.43). The nucleus of the nominal phrase is then always a 2nd person pronoun and the phrase does not carry a separate intonation contour.

#### 4.22 Narrative utterances

Narrative utterances are distinguished from conversation utterances because of their distribution in the discourse and because of the typically formal structure of narrative, exemplified mainly by folk tales.

The narration utterance has a linguistic setting, consisting of an address utterance, directed by the narrator to the audience and comprising the single item *màtá* 'call to attention', and a reply utterance by the audience, signalling attention, comprising the single item *ètènâ*. These two items are invariable, and, although probably verbal forms, (*tá* 'to shoot' occurs in the collocation *ta ósè* 'tell a story'), they are not relatable either in function or structure to other sentences or clauses and are therefore not further discussed. They are exemplified in text B 1 C 1 and D 1.

In its fullest form the narration utterance divides into four sections which are characterized by lexical and grammatical factors. These comprise:

1. explanatory introduction
2. story proper
3. moral
4. closure

The first and last sections are sometimes omitted and the second and third sections may be fused.

4.221 The explanatory introduction, like the moral and the closure, is focussed on the audience and may consist of:

- i. a nominal phrase in vocative relation (4.215)  
eg. àbénn:à òtára àbètáà 'ladies and gentlemen'
- ii. a hortative sentence (5.2)  
eg. màyóna ító:η ka ósé kwé' mənítábòhà mà 'listen to  
the story I will tell you now'
- iii. an initiative sentence (5.4), often a proverb summarizing the point of the following story.

The full form of the explanatory introduction is exemplified in text A 1-4.

4.222 The story-proper consists of: i) an initiative sentence which states the topic of the story. A typical example occurs in text D 1, òkplènnòr wàne ònín-ê 'there was once a blind man'. ii) a series of sequential and initiative sentences whose content comprises the subject matter of the story.

There is further internal patterning, significant factors being:

- i. the distribution of initiative sentences. The occurrence of an initiative sentence signals either a new stage in the sequence of actions or a state which is constant.

- ii. the distribution of time references, signalled by either a nominal phrase in temporal relation (5.63) or by a temporal preliminary clause (5.51). The occurrence of a time reference of this kind again signals a new stage in the sequence of the story. eg. text B 6, 15.

- iii. the distribution of lexical-echo and spatial preliminary clauses (5.5). Lexical overlap, the repetition of certain clauses, serves as a link between the stages of the story. eg. text C 2, 3-4.

iv. the sequence of reference; the occurrence of a NP in subject relation (6.43) and the pattern of pronominal reference (6.43).

v. the distribution of direct and indirect speech quotations (6.233.3). Direct quotes only occur in speech which is not audience-focussed (there are exceptions to this when the speaker wishes to emphasize the actual words used). Indirect quotes occur in audience-focussed speech (including conversation utterances) and in quotes within a quote.

vi. the occurrence of the final markers -o and -e (5.8).

4.223 The moral consists of a tag, very commonly the lexical form ńá' wɔ ó'si-ě 'that is why...', followed by a hortative or initiative sentence whose content gives the moral of the story. eg. A 9 B 34-35 C 24-27 D 31-32.

4.224 The closure consists of a hortative sentence, typically ńbér ɛ́bárɛ́bár ńkwu ńta áyòkvàva áşè 'let me grow quickly and tell my small friends stories', followed by the closure marker dèdèkwók-é (which occurs only in this position).  
eg. A 11-12 B 35-36 C 28-29 D 32-33.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE SENTENCE

#### 5.0 Introduction

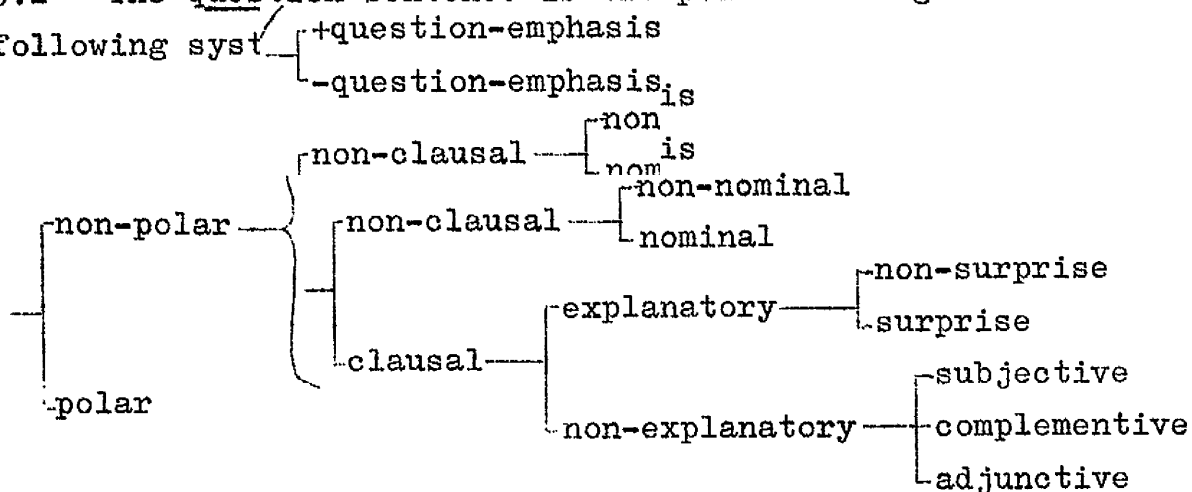
The function of the sentence as a constituent of the utterance has been described in chapter 4. Sentences may also be down ranked to function as constituents of a clause composite (6.233.3). They may also function recursively in a sentence complex. The sentence complex is described in section 5.7.

Four classes of sentence have been postulated:

question  
hortative  
sequential  
initiative

The structure of these sentence classes is contrastive mainly in the nucleus of the sentence. Features and realization statements relevant to the nuclei of the sentence classes are described in sections 5.1-4. System networks through which the structure of the sentence preliminary and of the sentence periphery is derived are described in sections 5.5 and 5.6.

5.1 The question sentence is the point of origin of the following syst



5.11 The polar feature is realized by the presence of a clause specified as indicative:initiative (6.15), and of the final marker -o (5.8) suffixed to the final word of the sentence.

Example:

1. ògbé kóbèṅà-ò response: mǎá-è / ògbé ótùṁ óbéná-è  
 time it-has-come? no time it-has-not-yet-come  
 'Has the time come?' 'No, the time hasn't yet come.'

cf. also 4.211 and text B 12, ~~4.211~~

5.12 The non-polar question is further specified as either +question-emphasis or -question-emphasis. The +question-emphasis feature is realized by the presence of the final marker -o (5.8) suffixed to the final word of the sentence. The semantic implication of this feature is to make more prominent the question meaning of the sentence.

Example:

2. mǎn'sí' yén-ò 'Whatever shall I do?'  
 I-will-do what?

The counterpart of this sentence with the selection of the -question-emphasis feature would be:

- mǎn'sí' yén 'What shall I do?'

For further examples see examples 6, 16-19 and 21.

5.13 The non-polar question is also specified as either clausal or non-clausal.

5.131 The non-clausal question contrasts with other sentences in that it does not have a clause as its nuclear constituent. It is further specified as either nominal or non-nominal.

The nominal feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase followed by the syntactic marker kè which in this context may be translated 'where?' 'what about...?'

Examples:

3. ògbàngbàṅ kwá:m kè 'Where is my bowl? What of my bowl?'  
 bowl my where?
4. àtẹ́ kè 'Where is your father?'  
 father where? response 1. kó'dé-è 'He is not here  
 lit. he is not'  
 2. àtẹ́ kwá:m òbír íta òhòn-è  
 'My father has gone some  
 place again.'

The form of the corresponding response is an initiative sentence of which the NP subject may be omitted, being already given in the question.

The non-nominal feature is realized by the fixed lexical form:

ńá kè 'lit. there what? What's the matter?'

ńa may be identified as a relator (6.33) but other relators do not occur in this structure.

5.132 The non-polar:clausal question is specified as either explanatory or non-explanatory.

5.1321 Explanatory questions are commonly used rhetorically, requiring no response. An example of this usage occurs in text B 9-10. Where the question is not rhetorical the most common form of the response is an initiative sentence preceded by the sentence link òkúró' bẹ́ 'because'. òkúró' bẹ́ is a syntactic marker whose usual function is to link two sentences in a sentence complex (5.711) but in this occurrence the first sentence is given in the question and therefore may be omitted in the response.

The explanatory:non-surprise feature is realized by the presence of the syntactic marker ósémpírá 'why?' followed by a clause specified as indicative:non-initiative (6.15).

The form ósémpirá is an apparently fossilized form of the clause ósí yén pírá 'lit. it does what before..' In contemporary speech it is regarded as a morphologically simple form, being contracted beyond usual elision patterns. However its status as a clause is still apparent in two respects:

i) It occurs in conjunction with a non-initiative clause. All other question sentences (except the non-clausal) have an initiative clause as nucleus. The tone pattern on ósémpirá shows that it is derived from an initiative clause; the following clause functions as if it were the second constituent of a sentence complex, carrying non-initiative tone pattern.

ii) It may occur in a future tense form mósém'pírá derived from mósí' yén pírá 'lit. it will do what before..'

Examples:

5. óṣémpíra átà sá      response: òkúró' bẹ́ ònór ágbá:náká kwà:m-ê  
 why      you-go there      because      I-see brother my  
 'Why are you going there?'      'Because I am looking for my  
    brother.'
6. óṣémpíra á'ká:rà òkákùwùn-ò      'Why didn't the Europeans return?'  
 why      Europeans they-didn't-return
7. móṣém'píra ósèṇà      'Why is he travelling?'  
 why      he-travels

The explanatory:surprise feature semantically signals some degree of surprise or disbelief - 'Why? for what possible reason?' It is realized by the presence of an initiative clause, followed by the link òkúrú, followed by one of the interrogative words yen 'what?' mbon 'what?'

Examples:

8. òdók òtós:m màşí òkúrí mbôn 'You won't work again for what  
again work you- because what? reason?'  
won't-do

9. ácéné'm'íva òkú'ú yén 'Why are you bringing the children  
 you- children what? to me?'  
 send-me because

The interrogative word yén may also occur in marked contrast position (6.42). This form of the question is always used rhetorically, implying that there can be no possible answer.

10. ká'yén kw ó'dé' ká:ŋkà:m nd ñkwu é'kíkèn kí' kó' ka óṣṣ:m  
 why that it-is I-alone I-come visit to you to house  
 'Why is it only I who visit your house?'  
 (text B 9-10)

5.1322 The clausal:non-explanatory feature is realized by the presence of a clause specified as initiative and positive as nucleus of the sentence, one of the constituents of which must be an interrogative item. The non-explanatory question is further specified as subjective, complementive or adjunctive, according to the relation within the clause in which the interrogative item functions and the corresponding form of the response.

Not all interrogative items may function in any relation. The following chart shows the restrictions:

		<u>Subject</u>	<u>Complement</u>	<u>Adjunct</u>
mén } mémà }	'where, whither?'			X
yén } mboŋ }	'what?'		X	
àñì	'who, whom?'	X**	X*	
NP which-interrog. (8.51)	'which?'	X**	X*	X*
NP count-interrog. (8.5231)	'how many?'	X*	X	X
NP relative-interrog. (8.633)	'whose?'	X*	X	

Items marked with two asterisks \*\* always occur in marked contrast (6.42). Items marked with one asterisk \* may occur in marked contrast.

Interrogative nominal phrases may function as adjunct only when the referent of the nominal phrase denotes time or place.

Examples of subjective non-explanatory questions:

11. àñi wo ó'sí' mìn:â 'Who would do such a thing?'  
who it-is he-do thus
12. bótót:k' vo ód òsì ma í'kárìbá 'What is in the basket?'  
what-thing it-is in basket  
it-is
13. ànòŋ àpáŋ ákwúmâ 'How many people are coming?'  
people how-many they-come
14. ñŋwà kw áñi ó'kwúmâ 'Whose child is coming?'  
child of who he-comes

For further examples see text C 6-8 (rhetorical use), C 15.

Examples of complementive non-explanatory questions

15. ákwún mbôŋ 'What have you returned from doing?'  
you-return what
16. ákpé yén-ō 'What are you selling it for?'  
you-sell what How much is it?'
17. ŋwóma òkéè áñi-ō 'Who would this happen to?'  
this it-meets who Whoever would such a thing happen to?'
18. bōwú'pyí'á' kwé ká:m ñ'yén-ō 'What bad luck I have!' (rhetorical)  
which-bad-luck that I I-have
19. mède ánòŋ àpáŋ-ō 'How many people are they?'  
they-are how-many people

20. óde ódìk kwə mbôn 'What is the matter?'  
it-is matter of what
21. bóbón' kw ód òtá-ó 'What place is he going to?'  
what- that he-goes  
place

Examples of adjunctive non-explanatory questions:

22. kə àmá:n mémà 'Where were you born?'  
you you-born where
23. óníná sà ìwu ìpán 'How many days is he staying there?'  
he-stays days how-many?  
there

Note All the interrogative items listed above may also function as constituents of a clause in subordinate relation (5.64). Their meaning is then indefinite rather than interrogative.

Examples:

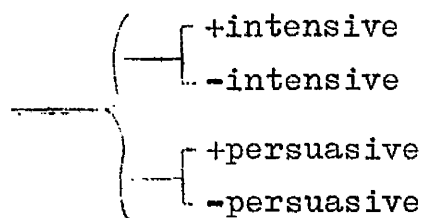
24. şà:be é'rón ndo ébáré yén èrón ndó ká:m mèsóná  
even-if rain that it-big how rain that me it-won't-know  
'However great the rain is it won't hurt me.'
25. òde ódìk kw ápóná-ó / òde ódìk kwé bɔ:ɔ:k / m̀òs:ba ònòŋ  
if-it matter of court- it- matter whatever we-should-  
-is case is choose person

ŋwó m̀áwánè

that one

'If it is a question of a court case, if it is a question of anything at all, we should choose that one person.'

5.2 The hortative sentence is the point of origin of the following network:



All hortative sentences are realized by the presence of a clause as nucleus which is specified as either imperative (6.11) or subjunctive (6.13, 6.14).

The +intensive feature is realized by the presence of the syntactic marker òtòtò 'please, I beg you' occurring preceding the nuclear clause. (Where some constituent of the nuclear clause is in marked focus (6.41) the intensive marker may follow the item in focus).

Example:

[illegible]

See also text A 1.

The +persuasive feature is realized by the presence of the syntactic marker ke (cf. also 5.131) following the final word of the nuclear clause. It has persuasive meaning, making a command or wish less abrupt.

Examples:

27. mòfóná kè 'Let's go now.' (text D 22)  
we-should  
-go

28. gbá:k ka ósé' kw ɔ̀dà:kó kè 'Do speak in whatever way  
speak in way that it- you like.'  
pleases-you

For further examples of hortative sentences see text A 11 B 14  
C 12, 17 *A hortative*



5.3 The sequential sentence is the favourite sentence type in longer speeches. It is realized by the presence of a clause as nucleus specified as indicative:non-initiative (6.15).

Example:

29. òñi òkwùna èbós:k ndó 'The elephant returned from  
elephant he- divination that that divination' (text C 13)  
returned

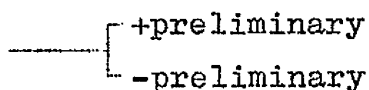
5.4 The initiative sentence is realized by the presence of a clause specified as indicative:initiative (6.15) or as minor (6.16) as nucleus of the sentence. There are, however, restrictions on the selection of a minor clause as nucleus which are described in section 6.16.

Examples:

30. wá / èwùcèn òmá:na órà:ṣà / mäsén íyòk mätètémá:  
once sun it-is-with river they-walk plenty  
friendship  
'Once the sun and the river were great friends' (text B 1)
31. òbè óyòdíḱóè kwà:m ókwú:má 'He said, "My friend is  
he-said friend my he-comes coming."  
(text B 17)

The difference in the 'meaning' of the sequential and initiative sentence classes is not apparent in the translation of the examples given above since the key to the difference lies in the distribution of the two sentence classes in the utterance (4.2). Examples are therefore best studied within the context of the utterance. Annotated examples will be found in text B.

5.5 The sequential and initiative sentence classes are alternative points of origin of the system:

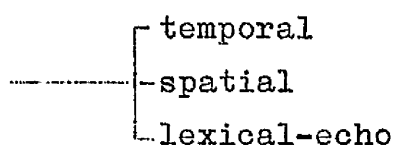


This system is only relevant when the sentence functions in a narration utterance or in a longer message utterance. Preliminary clauses do not occur in sentences functioning in any other class of utterance, nor do they occur in question or hortative sentences in any context.

The +preliminary feature is realized by the presence of a clause in preliminary relation in the sentence, occurring preceding the nuclear clause of the sentence and any clause constituents in subordinate relation (5.64). The structural characteristics of a preliminary clause are described in 6.19. A preliminary clause carries a complete intonation contour (usually rising intonation) and may be suffixed by the final marker -o (5.8).

The meaning of the preliminary feature is again best illustrated within the context of the total utterance. A preliminary clause carries no new information but serves as a connective between different stages of the narration.

The +preliminary feature is further specified as



5.51 The temporal feature is realized through the selection of specific lexical items connected with time. Among the most common are:

tùma 'to reach (of time)' with an impersonal subject

şòba 'to dawn'

èwù 'day'      èsóká 'evening'      ògbé 'time'

Example:

32. ótúm' ka é'kpébé / àrùbànòṅ mbo á'róṣáfà mábira àkwú ///  
 it-reached to morning thieves those 40 they-again-came  
 clause preliminary  
 temporal

màkwu ápyíré ñá-ò / má'níṅá' ñà / má'bóḅ bé  
 they-came-reached there they-stayed there they-asked that  
 clause preliminary  
 spatial

ḱónòṅ wàṇe òyéná' kw ófu èñàñà ///  
 person one it-has who he-steal horse  
 'When it reached morning those 40 thieves returned. When they arrived, they stopped and asked, "Is there someone who has stolen a horse?"'

For further examples of temporal preliminary clauses see text B 6, B 15, C 23.

5.52 The spatial feature is realized by the selection of specific lexical items connected with space and movement. By far the most common of these are the verbs pyìre 'to reach, arrive' and níṅa 'to be, to remain'.

For examples see examples 32 and 33 and text A 6 C 9 D 22.

5.53 The lexical-echo feature is realized by the re-echoing of the lexical items of a nuclear clause of the preceding sentence, and the presence of the relator ña.

Example:

33. ód ôpyìrè ña é'ké'ká-ò / òṭèm èkóḅ /// óṭème èkóḅ  
 he-arrived at stream he-beat palm-nut he-beat nut  
 clause preliminary  
 spatial clause preliminary  
 lexical-echo

ñá-ò/ òtóká á'kóvává mbó p óṭèmé' / èkwóró' ka ó'bó:k /  
 there he-took small-nuts those which he-beat he-clasped in hand

òtíma ókwùnà ///  
 he-took he-returned  
 'When he arrived at the stream he beat the palm nuts. When he had beaten the palm nuts he clasped those small palm nuts which he had beaten in his hand and returned home with them.'

For further examples see text C 4, 11.

The first nuclear clause of a tense-sequential sentence complex (5.722) may also re-echo the lexical content of a preceding clause. Examples occur in text C 2, 15 D 4. The re-echoing again serves as a connective in the sequence of events.

Clauses in subordinate relation may have the same characteristic but in this case the action referred to is always habitual or continuous action, rather than an event occurring in a sequence of events which happened on one given occasion. Lexical echo in subordinate clauses is therefore more common in descriptive message utterances than in narrative.

Examples of lexical echo in subordinate clauses:

34. m̀ina á'dón / ó'túm'                      ka ó'pé kwé máyèré'  
       we    Adun,    when-it-reach to month which they-call

ǹòvém̀bà / m̀òşì ópà //// m̀òşì                      òpà                      n̄á' mápyír /  
 November    we-do harvest    when-we-do harvest there all

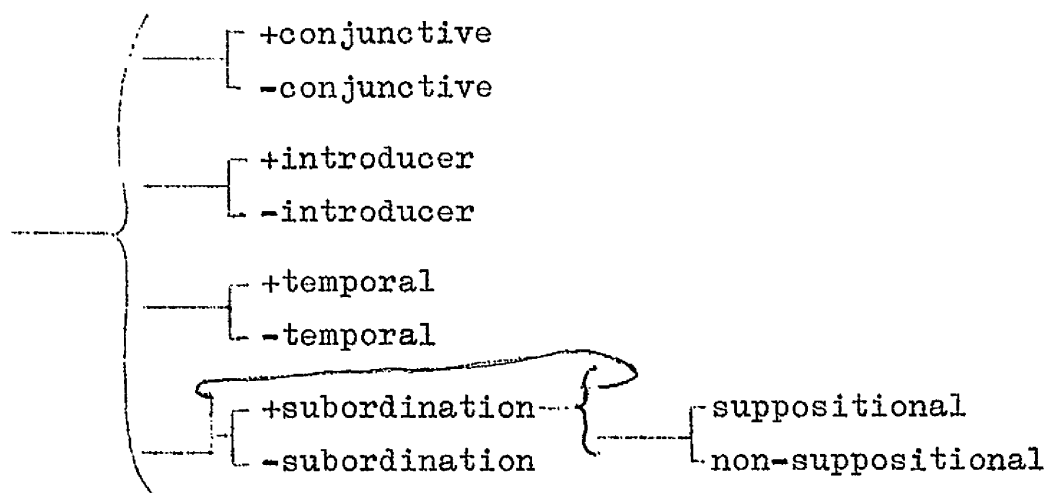
m̀óhà:n sa í'ká:ná' /// m̀óhà:né                      sa í'ká:ná-ò /  
 we-tie    on yam-barn                      when-we-tie on yam-barn

m̀ókpa    n̄n:àm-è ///  
 we-come back

'We Adun people, when it reaches the month of November, we do the harvesting. When we have done the harvesting, then we tie (the yams) on the yam barn. When we have tied the yams on the yam barn, then we return home.'

For a further example see text B 2.

5.6 All sentence classes are alternative points of origin to the following system network from which the structure of the sentence periphery is derived.



The following formula shows the skeleton structure of the sentence if the marked feature is selected in every system:

introducer ^conjunction ^NP<sup>temp</sup> ^Clause<sup>sub</sup><sup>3</sup> ^Clause<sup>nuc</sup> ^Clause<sup>sub</sup>

5.61 The +conjunctive feature is realized by the presence of a conjunction. The conjunction usually occurs in initial position in the sentence (preceded by an introducer if one occurs) but it may alternatively occur immediately preceding the nuclear clause.

Conjunctions comprise:

#### Sub-class 1

m̀bà	'surely'	eg. text B 34	D 21
sáŋ	'unfortunately, regrettably'	C 27	D 9
ń̀nòsí	'usually'	D 19	

#### Sub-class 2

pírá	'then, before'		
mátètèmá:	'and so, until'	B 6	
mfà*	'therefore'	D 12	

\*mfà has variant forms bfà àfà mfà, the differences being apparently dialectal.

Conjunctions of sub-class 2 never occur in the first sentence of an utterance. They are also distinct from sub-class 1 in that they may carry a separate intonation contour and may then be suffixed by the final marker -o (5.8). Sub-class 1 conjunctions may only occur within the intonation contour of the item which they immediately precede.

Conjunctions of sub-class 2 also have an additional function. They occur linking the two parts of a sentence complex (5.612). pírá and mátètémá: (contracted form má:) also function as members of the adverb class (9.123).

There are restrictions on the occurrence of conjunctions in hortative sentences. If the nucleus of a hortative sentence is an imperative clause, then the -conjunctive feature is always selected. The conjunction mfà occurs only in hortative sentences (the nucleus of the sentence being a subjunctive clause).

Examples:

35. mâ / mfà má:mbà ńńíná' ma ô'tér 'Now, therefore I should  
 now therefore I-should in compound remain here in the  
           nowadays -remain compound nowadays.'

36. pírá-ó / wá mítìṅ kw ó'dóngbô / nóbír òbíná  
then/next past meeting of Adun- it-rose-again

'Next the meeting of Adun company rose again.'

37. píra é'kándè-ó / èfùmè ña é'sá'rá' bépa:n  
then cat it-caught by tail ....  
                      -him

'Then the cat caught him by the tail.'

For further exemplification see examples cited on the previous page.

5.62 The +introducer feature is realized by the presence of an introducer. Introducers comprise:

mâ	'now'
ñâ	'now, then, so'
kâ	'then' (rare)

This class is clearly related to the relator class (6.33) but is here treated separately because of contrastive function and incomplete overlap in the membership of the classes.

The introducer occurs sentence initially. It may carry a separate intonation contour and may then be suffixed by the final marker -o (5.8). Where an item in marked focus occurs (6.41) it may precede the introducer.

Examples:

38. àjàṅówúr / n̄à / óde      ò'gádà p    á'kpě̀n'      b́é / àjàṅówúr  
Ajangowur, now, it-is      Ogada who they-are-called      that Ajangowur

---

'Ajangowur, now, it is Ogada people who are called Ajangowur.'

39. má-ǒ / sár<sub>1</sub>                      òkà    kw   ó'nín   sa   ǒ'fúrábôn /  
now       unfortunately mother who she-is in underworld.

kwé wá' kòpá / kó' bá: ná'  
 who past she-has-died she-had-heard

'Now, unfortunately his mother who was in the underworld, who had died some time before, had heard.'

For further examples see text C 26 D 4 also example 35 above.

5.63 The +temporal feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in temporal relation. A nominal phrase in this relation has restricted lexical content in that its nucleus must be a noun denoting time. Common examples are èwù 'day' ògbé 'time' èsós:ká 'evening'.

A nominal phrase in temporal relation signals the time at which an action occurs. It also signals a new stage in the development of a narration. Its semantic function is therefore comparable to that of a temporal preliminary clause (5.51).

Other ways of signalling time are through the time-duration and time-punctiliar features of the clause (6.34, 6.35).

Like other peripheral constituents of the sentence a nominal phrase in temporal relation may carry a separate intonation contour (and may then be suffixed by the final marker -o (5.8)) or may share the intonation contour of the item which it immediately precedes.

Example:

40. èwù dànè-ó / òbíńá / òd òdéè é'cén sa ókómbà  
       day one           he-got-up   he-bought yams from pig

'One day, he got up and went and bought yams from the pig.'

For further examples see text B 3, 14 D 4.

5.64 The +subordination feature is realized by the presence of a clause in subordinate relation. The structure of subordinate clauses is described in 6.18.

Up to four clauses in subordinate relation may occur in any one sentence. Up to three of these may occur preceding the nuclear clause, one may occur following the nuclear clause.

The +subordination feature is further specified as suppositional or non-suppositional, these features being realized by the specification of the subordinate clause as suppositional or non-suppositional (6.18). The suppositional feature has the meaning 'even if something were to happen', implying that the event is hypothetical and rather unlikely.



Examples of subordinate clauses:

41. ńna ànínjè ña á'wá' mbo á'ké' / mmàléè  
 unless pepper in soup that you-put it-won't-be-tasty

'Unless you put pepper in that soup it won't be tasty.'

42. ápyìré sà / bìrà şí / mácé wèndo ád àşì  
 if-you-reach-there again do as before you-did

'If you reach there, do again as you did before.'

43. óde átwu òbó:k ña í'só'ká' njó / áwòşí ísò:ká' njó /  
 if you-touch hand to pot that if-you-open pot that

áká kwà:m ó'áake òsén á'tá ñá / kò wó-é  
 if-mother my she-changes she-turns stones there you it-is

'If you touch that pot, if you open that pot and if my mother turns into stones, then it is your fault.'

44. şà:be óm:èn m'ó óbáré mâtètémá: / sá màráká  
 even-if firewood that it-big plenty there you-shouldn't  
 -bend

'Even if the firewood should be excessively plentiful, you must not bend down.'

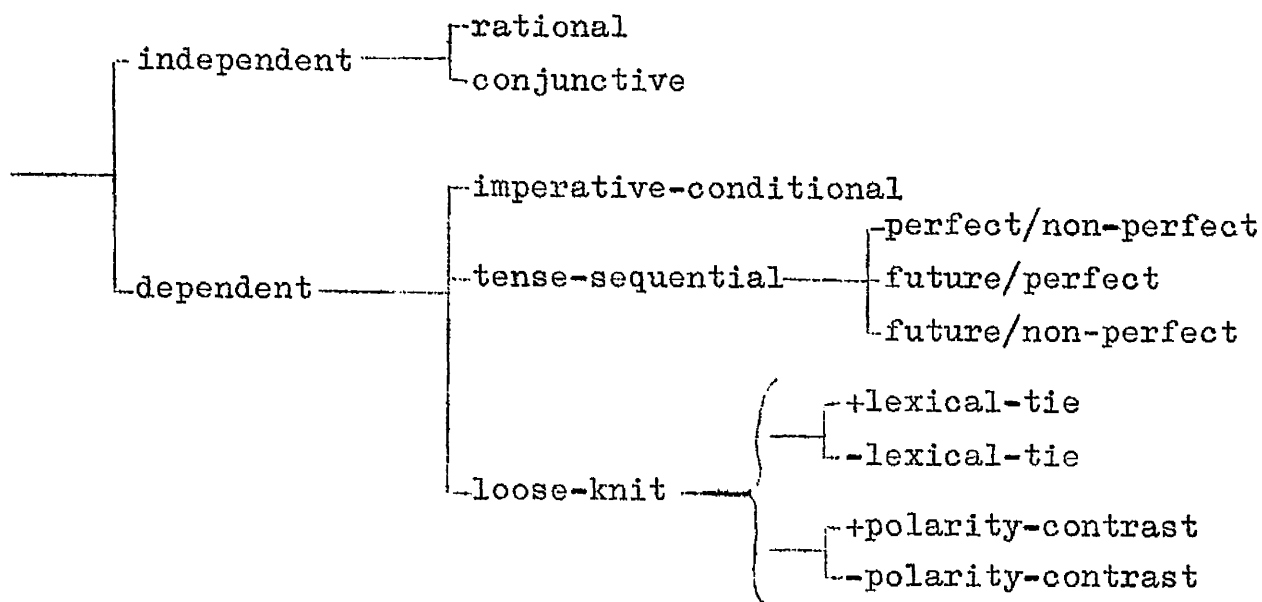
For further examples see text A 3, 9 B 2, 4, 5 C 5, 17, 20  
 D 3, 12, 21.

## 5.7 Sentence complex

Sentences so far described in this chapter are basic sentences, having only one nucleus, which may be a clause of any type, basic, complex or composite (6.2).

Sentences which have more than one nucleus are termed sentence complexes. The constituents of a sentence complex are sentences (which may in turn be either basic or complex) functioning in linear recursive relation. Sentence complexes are distinct from clause complexes in that clause complexes may, at primary delicacy, function in any position in which a basic clause may function.

Sentence complexes may be further specified as follows:



5.71 The independent feature is realized by the presence of two sentences, each of which may have full peripheral structure.

5.711 The independent:rational specification is further realized by the presence of the link òkúú' bé 'because' occurring between the two constituent sentences and the further specification that the nucleus of the second sentence must be an initiative clause.

## Examples:

45. ña ô'dímbó:k màşók / òkú' bē / áşòkó'  
 on right-hand you-won't-put-(it) because if-you-put

clause<sup>nuc</sup> (1)  
 =====>

clause<sup>sub</sup>  
 =====>

ña ôdímbo:k / óbírşbó:k màtíma á'kpo ákwùm ékò:nà  
 on right-hand left-hand you-won't-take be-able you-sew mats

clause<sup>nuc</sup> (2)  
 =====>  
 'You won't put it on the right because, if you put it on the  
 right, you won't be able to use your left hand to stitch palm  
 mats.'

46. òbènè bē [mamá-ē / ké kàpyi-ē] / òkú' bē /  
 he-said-him "no him do-not-cut" because

clause<sup>nuc</sup> (1)  
 =====>

ògbé ńwó wā / òdìk òyínşbè  
 time that past trouble it-befell-them

NP<sup>temp</sup> clause<sup>nuc</sup> (2)  
 =====>

'He said to him, "No, don't wound him!" because, at that time,  
 trouble had come upon them.'

47. wúra màd átéra á'tá:ş ákpùkà má'tíma á'síma  
 they-ought-instead they-gather money they-take greet

clause<sup>nuc</sup> (1)  
 =====>

ówòní'tó:nnôn / òkú' bē / şà wúra àşón ńwèr /  
 farm-worker because even if you-know book

clause<sup>sub</sup>  
 =====>

máş ná òtò:k sa é'şór á'cí / éfà màyéna á'kér ńwèr  
 like not thing in stomach you-eat power you-won't-have you- book

clause<sup>sub</sup> clause<sup>nuc</sup> (2)  
 =====>

'They ought to gather money and honour the farm workers, because,  
 even if you know book, if you don't eat anything, you won't have  
 power to write.'

5.712 The independent:conjunctive feature is further realized by the presence of a conjunction of sub-class 2 (5.61) occurring between the two sentence constituents.

Examples:

48. ménşí yén píra ínínà ákpèn òkà òkà-ó  
I-will-do what before I-live life good

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(1)  
=====

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(2)  
=====

'What shall I do in order to prosper?'

49. má'cínè mātètémá: / píra ótè nóbín' ka ókpónánámgbé  
they-begged-him plenty until father he-rose at last-time

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(1)  
=====

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(2)  
=====

'They kept on begging him so that at last the father arose.'

50. èkpó py é'nín ñà / òbók kàtwu-é / mfa  
things which they-are there hands do-not-touch so that

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(1)  
=====

ànín òdík òdók òdók àjé-è  
you-should-not trouble another you-fall

clause<sup>nuc</sup>(2)  
=====

'The things which are there, don't touch them, so that you should avoid falling into any other trouble.'

5.72 The dependent feature is realized by the presence of two sentence nuclei which may share the same periphery. The two nuclei may not have separate peripheral structures- the reference of any peripheral items must apply to the total complex.

5.721 The dependent:imperative-conditional feature is realized by the specification that the nucleus of one of the constituent

sentences must be an imperative clause. The verbs tòna 'to count' pyìrè 'to reach' and tòma 'to begin' very commonly occur in the imperative form in this construction.

Examples:

51. tòma sá' o ábèṭáṭà àmá:n / kà:m wò m'fòr évá:r  
begin there where fore-fathers they-born I it-is I-wear chief-  
tancy

clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
imperative

clause<sup>nuc</sup>

'Starting from the time when my forefathers were born, it is I who wear the chieftancy.'

52. bíná má pyìrè sa í'byí' sè ké ikwànnò òyéné' ṛwo  
start here reach to place which she woman very that

clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
imperative

ófèfóná / íbír ó'kpán

she-comes it-far very

>===== clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
>=====

'From here to the place from which that woman comes is a very long way.'

53. ma ô'bá:r ṛwá / mòyén á'vá:r áfà-è / tòṇá kà:m tòṇa  
in Ofat this we-have chiefs two count me count

clause<sup>nuc</sup>

clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
imperative

ánòṇ àṭá:n

people three

>=====

'In Ofat we have two chiefs, counting me it makes three.'

5.722 The dependent:tense-sequential feature is further realized by specifications regarding the sequence of tenses which may occur in the sentence nuclei. The following sequences may occur:

5.7221 Indicative/positive:perfect tense (6.1511) followed by indicative/positive:non-perfect tense (6.1512), or, less commonly, by indicative/negative:non-delayed tense (6.152).

The sequence may be freely translated 'when...then...'. The first nuclear clause resembles a subordinate clause in certain structural characteristics. It may echo the lexical content of a preceding clause (5.53) and may be suffixed by the final marker -o (5.8).

Examples:

54. èkpó mbyó kényìnà ka íyá:n / ìpànrò òkèbè  
 things those they-have-come to outside women they-share  
 -----  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> perfect clause<sup>nuc</sup> non-perfect  
 =====  
 'When the things have been put outside, the women share them.'

55. òkí'ká:ńá' njo ó'dáábá' mápyír / móyìn ìpà  
 yam barn that we-have-tied all we-go harvest  
 -----  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> perfect clause<sup>nuc</sup> non-perfect  
 =====  
 'When we have finished tying the yam barn, we begin the harvest.'

For further examples see text C 2-3 D 14.

5.7222 Indicative/positive:future tense (6.15121) followed by indicative/positive:perfect tense (6.1511)

In spite of the future tense of the first nuclear clause, the sequence of tenses implies that the action actually happened. The implication is that the second event happened prior to the occurrence of the first.

The second nuclear clause is 'non-figure'. In both the textual examples cited below, the subject referent of the sentence following the sentence complex is the same as that of

the first nuclear clause of the complex. No explicit nominal phrase in subject relation is present in the following sentence inspite of the occurrence of a different subject referent in the second nuclear clause of the complex (6.43).

Textual examples: B 23-2<sup>4</sup><sub>5</sub> C 9-10.

Examples:

56. mmókwu ókéré ka ́sṣ́m / ́nṣ́n ḱé'kpó ́fàkpó  
 we-will-come we-look in house person things he-had-  
 stolen-all

'When we came to look in the house, (we found that) someone had stolen everything.'

57. mód ópyirè / ècè ké'tà ka épé  
 he-will-reach leopard he-has-fallen in pit  
 -----  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
 future perfect  
 =====

'When he reached there, (he found that) a leopard had fallen in a pit.'

5.7223 Indicative/positive:future tense followed by Indicative/  
positive:non-perfect tense.

This sequence implies some contrast in the two parts of the sentence complex, which may be freely translated by the conjunction 'but'. It also implies that the first event did not actually happen - it was about to happen but the occurrence of the second event prevented it.

Example:

58. mókwa                    ɔ́bɔ́kè            ña é'ṣó / ɔ̀dím            é'ṣó ña é'tá:ṇá  
he-will-come    he-seize by head    he-drew head to inside  
===== -him =====

'He was about to ~~seize~~ seize him by the head, but he drew his head inside.'

For further examples see text A 7-8 C 15.

5.723 The dependent:loose-knit feature is further specified as either + or -lexical-tie, and + or -polarity-contrast.

The +lexical-tie feature is realized by the repetition of the same verb in both nuclear clauses. It is frequently chosen in conjunction with the +polarity-contrast feature.

The +polarity-contrast feature is realized by the selection of a positive clause as the first nucleus, and a negative clause as the second nucleus. The construction may be freely translated by the conjunction 'but' - the first action happened, but the second didn't.

The following examples illustrate the possible combinations of these features:

+lexical-tie/+polarity-contrast

59. írá'ró'ra íje èvú mātètēmá: / ékwòr èvú kó'jé'  
 Irarora-bird he-threw goat plenty tortoise goat he-did-  
 ===== not-throw

'The Irarora bird threw the goat many times, but the tortoise didn't throw the goat.'

60. òd òyók ísá:'ré' mātètēmá: / òwà kócèr ó'yók ísá:'ré'  
 she-weeded grass plenty child he-did- he-weed grass  
 ===== not-agree

'She weeded grass industriously but the child wouldn't agree to weed grass.'

For further examples see text A 10 B 8.

+lexical-tie/-polarity-contrast

61. mós'á:ŋ ó'á:ŋá ka í'tós:ŋ bé / òtá:n óníŋ / íjós:ŋ òníŋá'  
 we-hear by ear that witch- it-is Ijong it-is  
 'We hear tell that witchcraft exists and Ijong power exists too.'



For a further example see text C 19.

-lexical-tie/+polarity-contrast

62. òmà:n òṣwà / òṣwà kó'dé'

I-bore child child he-is-not  
=====

'I bore a child but there was no child (the child died)'

63. òkèrè àm:à mbó mātètémá: / ètèn kóbìr ócèr ófò

he-watched traps those plenty animal he-not- he- he-kill  
===== again agree =====

'He watched those traps continuously but he didn't succeed in killing an animal.'

For further examples see text B 5, B 33.

-lexical-tie/-polarity-contrast

When both unmarked options are selected there is no structural link between the two nuclear clauses. When peripheral elements occur which are shared by both nuclei then no ambiguity arises. Where no periphery occurs there may be ambiguity as to whether a form is a sentence complex or a sequence of two sentences. In such instances phonological criteria, such as intonation, are decisive.

For example see text D 23-24.

5.8 The final markers -e and -o are phonological clitics suffixed to the final word of the item in conjunction with which they occur. They always mark the end of an intonation contour and are often prolonged to carry that contour. A discussion of the stylistic or linguistic implications of their occurrence is not attempted here but the summary given below of the positions in which they may occur may give some indication of their meaning.

The vowels of the final marker have distinctive elision properties. The vowels of the final marker, -o and -e, always remain constant. They are never dropped through elision. When the final marker is suffixed to a word with a final vowel, elision patterns are as follows:

a) Preceding the final marker -o, the close vowels i and u are dropped, all other vowels are retained.

b) Preceding the final marker -e, the close and half-close vowels i u e o are dropped, all other vowels are retained.

### Distribution

i. The final marker -e occurs very commonly in conversation utterances. In a conversation composed of an interchange of short utterances the majority of sentences are suffixed by -e. Response words and the initial sentence of a response utterance (4.211) are always suffixed by -e. It may also occur:

a) Suffixed to the nuclear constituent of a sentence in longer message utterances or in narration, generally marking a 'ground' state, a constant state rather than a new action in a series of actions. eg. text A 6, 10 D 1, 2.

b) Suffixed to a nominal phrase in focus (6.41). eg. text A 5.

c) Suffixed to a tag (4.22). eg. text A 9, D 31.

d) Suffixed to the narration closer dèdèkwók (4.22).  
eg. text A 12 C 29 D 33.

ii. The final marker -o has the effect of bringing the item to which it is suffixed into increased prominence. It may occur:

a) Suffixed to the nuclear constituent and/or to the final constituent of a question sentence (5.11, 5.12). eg. text B 12. Questions may be used rhetorically to indicate surprise or incredulity. eg. text C 8, 20, 27.

b) Suffixed to a clause in preliminary relation in the sentence (5.5). eg. text B 6, C 4, 9, 11, 13, 23 D 18.

c) Suffixed to a clause in subordinate relation in the sentence (5.64).

d) Suffixed to the first nuclear constituent of a tense-sequential sentence complex (5.722). eg. B 17 D 14.

e) Suffixed to a nominal phrase in focus (6.41) eg. B 31 C 18.

f) Suffixed to a nominal phrase in temporal relation in the sentence (5.63).

g) Suffixed to a nominal phrase in vocative relation in the utterance (4.215).

h) Suffixed to a conjunction of sub-class 2 (5.61) or to an introducer (5.62) in the sentence. eg. D 4.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### THE CLAUSE

#### 6.0 Introduction

The function of the clause as a constituent of the sentence in nuclear, subordinate or preliminary relation has been described in chapter 5. The clause may also function recursively as a constituent of a clause complex (6.201, 6.202) and in relative relation in a nominal phrase (8.64).

There is sufficient overlap in the structure of the clause having different functions for all clauses to be regarded as one class, the point of origin of the same system networks. Restrictions and modifications in the structure of the clause functioning in subordinate, relative or preliminary relation are described in sections 6.18 and 6.19.

The clause is the point of origin of the mood, transitivity and theme system networks. The structure of the clause is fully determined only through selections of features from each of these networks. Mood, transitivity and theme represent the interpersonal, ideational and textual components of language (1.39). Mood (6.1) is here concerned with features of polarity, person, number, mood (in the more restricted sense of the contrast between imperative (command), subjunctive (wish) and indicative (fact)) and tense. Transitivity is concerned in the first place (6.2) with different types of process (state, relation, action) and with the role of the participants involved, and secondly (6.3) with circumstantial roles, chiefly relating to time, location and manner. Theme (6.4) is concerned with features of focus, contrast and emphatic-emphasis.

The constituents of the clause are:

a) verbal group (VG). Every clause has a verbal group as a constituent (for the only exception cf. 6.42). The selection of a certain class of verb-root in the VG partially realizes transitivity, process-type, features. Particular verb-roots inherently require the presence of other constituents in the clause having specified participant roles.

b) nominal phrase (NP) which may have the grammatical function of subject (NP<sup>S</sup>), complement (NP<sup>C</sup>), vocative (NP<sup>VOC</sup>) or adjunct (NP<sup>a</sup>).

The presence of a NP<sup>S</sup> is determined through the mood (6.12) and theme (6.43) features. Determined by the transitivity features of the clause, the NP<sup>S</sup> may have the participant role of actor, attribuant or initiator.

The presence of a NP<sup>C</sup> is determined through the transitivity features. The NP<sup>C</sup> may have the participant role of attribuant, range, goal, actor, benefactive, recipient, resultative, motive or accompaniment. Where the transitivity features determine the presence of more than one NP<sup>C</sup> in a clause then NP<sup>C</sup> having specified participant roles occur in the following linear order: order 1 - recipient or benefactive order 2 - attribuant, range, goal, or actor order 3 - resultative or motive. More than two NP<sup>C</sup> do not normally occur in a basic clause.

If certain mood features are selected these participant roles may be filled by a bound pronoun (7.25). Only one bound pronoun may occur in a basic clause. Benefactive and recipient roles are very commonly filled by a bound pronoun.

The presence of a NP<sup>VOC</sup> is determined through the theme features (6.43).

The presence of a NP<sup>a</sup> is determined through the transitivity features (6.3). NP<sup>a</sup> may have the circumstantial roles of locative, time-punctiliar, time-duration or manner.

c) ideophone, adverb, relator, temporal particle, temporal word and restricted down-ranked clause (6.37) all function as adjunct having circumstantial roles (6.3).

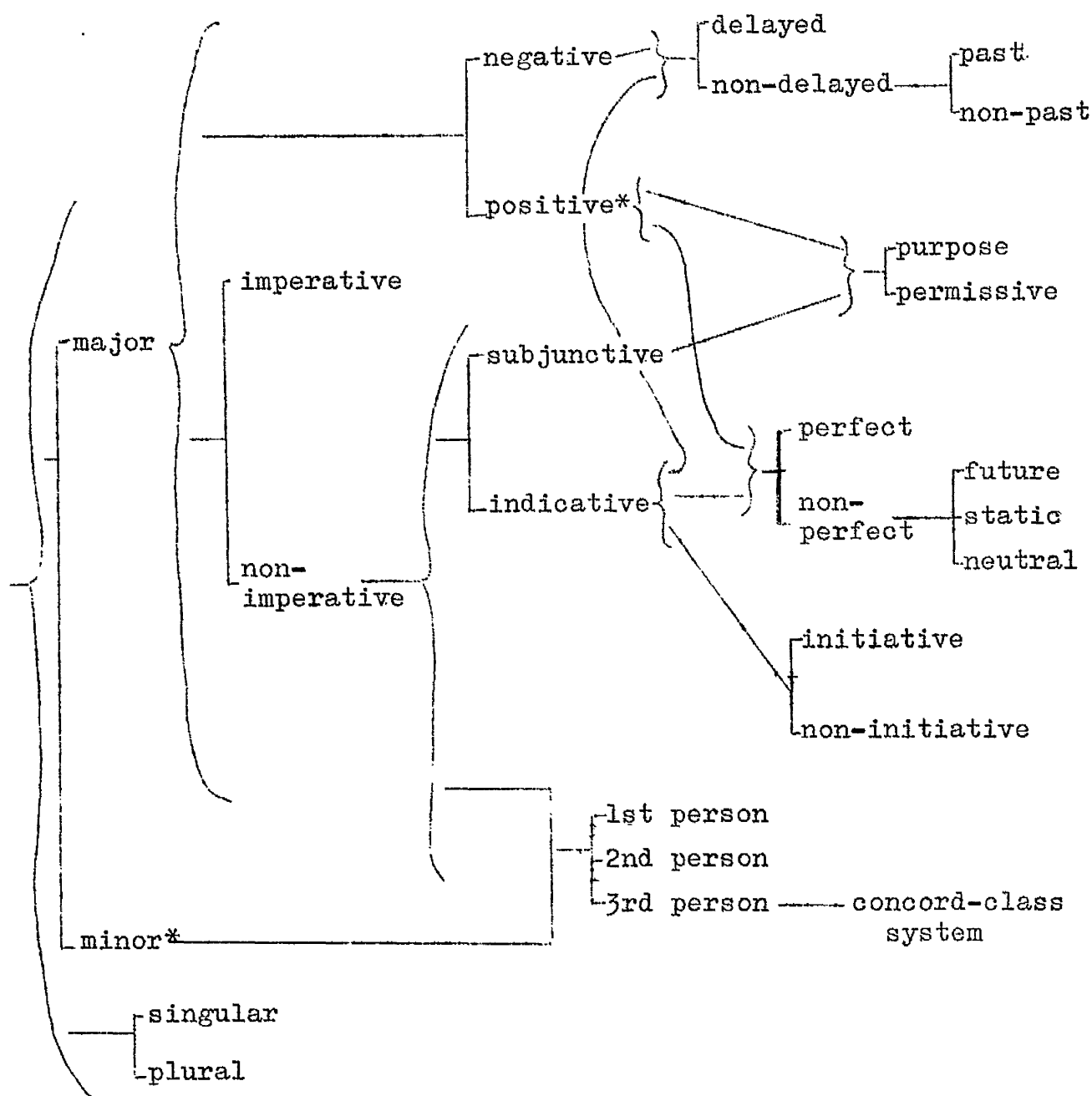
d) down ranked utterance or sentence complement a clause-composite (6.200), always occurring in final position in the composite.

Any nominal phrase constituent and certain limited items in adjunct relation may function as marked focus or contrast (6.4).



## 6.1 The MOOD component

6.1 The clause is the point of origin of the MOOD system network:



6.10 The following citation paradigm presents a summary of the selection expressions and corresponding structures of the major clause. Singular number and 3rd person (except in imperative forms) are selected throughout the paradigm.

The features of the major clause and their realizations are discussed in detail in 6.11-15.



non-imperative: indicative: {initiative/non-perfect: neutral}

òvá:r óbá:ne é'cén sa ìká:ṇá 'The chief ties yams on  
NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>neutral</sub> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> the yam barn.'  
/initiative

### Negative clauses

#### imperative

ècén sa ìká:ṇá kàbá:n 'Don't tie yams on the yam  
NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>imperative</sub> barn!  
/negative

#### non-imperative: subjunctive

òvá:r ónif ècén sa ìká:ṇa óbá:né 'The chief shouldn't tie  
NP<sup>s</sup> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>subjunctive</sub> yams on the yam barn.  
Don't let the chief tie  
/negative yams on the yam barn.'

#### non-imperative: indicative: delayed

òvá:r é'cén sa ìká:ṇaótùma óbá:ná 'The chief hasn't yet tied  
NP<sup>s</sup> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>delayed</sub> the yams on the yam barn.'

#### non-imperative: indicative: non-delayed: past

òvá:r é'cén sa ìká:ṇá kóbá:né 'The chief didn't tie  
NP<sup>s</sup> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>past</sub> yams on the yam barn.'

#### non-imperative: indicative: non-delayed: non-past

òvá:r é'cén sa ìká:ṇá mòbá:n 'The chief won't tie  
NP<sup>s</sup> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>non-past</sub> yams on the yam barn.'

Mood features may<sup>be</sup> realized by the presence and linear ordering of constituents, specifications of the verbal group and/or the presence of syntactic markers. Throughout section 6.1 clitics (syntactic markers) whose presence is determined through mood features are hyphenated in all examples. These clitics comprise k- 'perfect clitic', c- 'subjunctive clitic' and M- 'plural clitic' (the plural clitic has variant forms m-, n-, ṇ- see 6.17).  
*The capital letter M- is used to represent the plural clitic throughout this section in order to prevent confusion with the tense marker m- (7.15.21, 7.15.23).*



67. m-ś'dśk kàrśb-ê 'Don't run away again! (plural)'  
 plu.again do-not-run  
 M adverb<sup>a</sup> VG

6.12 The non-imperative feature is realized by the presence of a verbal group specified as non-imperative (7.12). More delicate features determine further specifications.

In all non-imperative clauses there is the potentiality of the presence of a nominal phrase in subject relation. The actual presence of a NP<sup>s</sup> in a given clause is determined through the theme component (6.43).

Non-imperative clauses and also minor clauses (6.16) are specified as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. These features are realized through the specification that the same person choice (in the case of the 3rd person also the same concord-class) is selected both in the NP<sup>s</sup> of the clause and in the verbal group. It is the person and concord-class of the nominal phrase subject (or subject referent) which is the determining factor. There is therefore concord between the nominal phrase subject and the verbal group in respect of person and concord-class (also number cf. 6.17). It is this concord, together with linear position, which enables the subject to be identified.

The concord-class system is described in chapter 10.

Non-imperative clauses are also further specified as either subjunctive or indicative.

6.13 The positive/subjunctive features are realized by:

- i. the further specification of the selection of the subjunctive and positive features in the verbal group (7.13)
- ii. the linear ordering of the constituents:

NP<sup>s</sup> ^VG<sub>subjunctive</sub> ^NP<sup>c</sup> ^Item<sup>a</sup>  
                                   /positive

The positive/subjunctive clause is further specified as either permissive or purpose. There are distributional differences between permissive and purpose clauses. The permissive clause may only function as the nucleus of a sentence. The purpose clause may also function as the extension of a hypotactic clause complex (6.236).

The permissive feature is realized by the **presence** of the syntactic marker c- 'subjunctive clitic' preceding the first constituent of the clause.

Examples:

68. c-ń'níná                      ñà    'Let me stay there!'  
       I-should-stay there  
       c VG                      relator<sup>a</sup>
69. cé-m-àkére                      òtò:k    'Let them watch the thing!'  
       plu.they-should-watch thing  
       c M VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>

The purpose feature is realized by the absence of further structural change.

Examples:

70. m-òfóná'                      'We should go.'  
       plu.we-should-go  
       M VG
71. mbén                      ébárébar    'I should grow quickly, may I  
       I-should-grow quickly    grow quickly.'  
       VG                      adverb<sup>a</sup>

6.14 The negative/subjunctive feature is realized by:

- i. the specification of the selection of the subjunctive and negative features in the verbal group (7.14)

ii. the linear ordering of the constituents:

NP<sup>S</sup>      ^VG(auxiliary) ^NP<sup>C</sup>    ^Item<sup>a</sup>    ^VG<sub>subjunctive  
/negative</sub>

Examples:

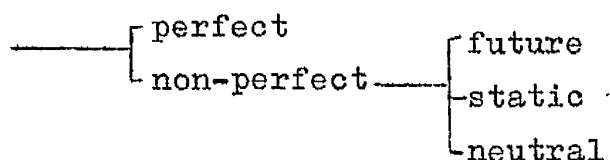
72. ònòŋ    ònín'                    épya    óyíné'    'Noone should go to  
person he-should-not market he-go    market. Let noone go  
NP<sup>S</sup>    VG(aux)                    NP<sup>C</sup>    VG                    to market.'

73. ónín                    ìpàñá' ŋwo    ó'dók òtá    'She shouldn't go  
she-should-not Ipanya that again she-go    to Ipanya again.'  
VG(aux)                    NP<sup>C</sup>                    adverb<sup>a</sup> VG

6.15 The imperative feature expresses a command, the subjunctive feature expresses a wish or a moral obligation. The indicative feature expresses a statement of fact.

The indicative feature is further specified as either initiative or non-initiative. Initiative and non-initiative clauses have contrastive functions (5.4) but contrast in structure only when the neutral tense feature is further selected (6.151~~23~~).

6.151 The selection of both indicative and positive features is the compound entry condition to the tense systems:



6.1511. The perfect feature expresses a completed action or state. It is realized by:

i. the presence of the syntactic marker k- 'perfect clitic' prefixed to the first nominal phrase constituent of the clause in complement relation, or, where no nominal phrase in complement relation occurs, to the verbal group. The clitic is accompanied by tonal characteristics which are described in 3.561.

- ii. the specification of the selection of the perfect feature in the verbal group (7.1511).
- iii. the ordering of constituents:

NP<sup>S</sup> ^k ^NP<sup>C</sup> ^VG<sub>perfect</sub> ^Item<sup>a</sup>

This ordering contrasts with that of non-perfect positive clauses in that NP<sup>C</sup> precedes the VG, and with that of negative clauses in that items in adjunct relation follow the verbal group.

Examples:

74.    ònòŋ    k-é'kpo    ófàkpó    'Someone had stolen everything.'  
          person    things he-had-stolen-completely  
          NP<sup>S</sup>    k NP<sup>C</sup>    VG
75.    òkwò    k-é-bòŋa    ókò:nà    kí'dá:m    'Hunger has beset  
          hunger    you    it-has-beset much    you much.'  
          NP<sup>S</sup>    k NP<sup>C</sup>    VG    adverb<sup>a</sup>
76.    kə-ńsòŋà    'I know, lit. I have known.'  
          I-have-known  
          k VG
77.    ò-k-á'jibá'    'They are good, lit. they  
          plu. they-are-good    are in a completed state of  
          M k VG    goodness.'

6.1512 The non-perfect feature is further specified as future, static or neutral. It is realized by the linear ordering of the constituents:

NP<sup>S</sup> ^VG<sub>non-perfect</sub> ^NP<sup>C</sup> ^Item<sup>a</sup>

6.15121 The future feature expresses future time and is realized by the specification of the selection of the future feature in the verbal group (7.15121).



Examples:

78. kà:m mən̄tíma évá:r ndâ 'I will rule this  
 I I-will-rule chieftancy this chieftancy.'  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>

79. ò-mórór àkà kwó sa ǒṣṓ:m 'We will look for  
 plu.we-will-look mother your in house your mother in the  
 M VG NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> house.'

6.15122 The static feature is realized by the specification of the selection of the static feature in the verbal group (7.15122). The meaning of the tense is difficult to determine. It is not common in short conversation utterances, occurring more frequently in longer conversation or narration utterances, particularly in the speech of older people. It implies definite action, a stage in a sequence of actions. The static tense is often selected following the conjunction pírá 'then, before, next' (5.61). For examples in context see text B 20 and C 26.

Examples:

80. èwù c éróṣ étèè á'ṣí nákwu á'tóka óbóró kwó-è  
 day that rain it-fall water you-come you-take debt your  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup>

'The day that it rains, you come and collect your debt.'

81. pírá ò-nátók mbín njó békáp  
 then plu.they-take drums those ...  
 M VG NP<sup>c</sup> ideophone<sup>a</sup>

'Then they take those drums ...'

6.15123 The neutral feature does not imply any time but may occur in conjunction with items in adjunct/time-punctiliar relation to indicate past, present or future time (6.35). It may be regarded as unmarked in respect of time. Neutral clauses are very frequent.

When selected in conjunction with the initiative feature it is realized by the specification of the selection of the features neutral and initiative in the verbal group (7.15123).

Examples:

82. m-òyén      òtèn      ṣ éfà      'We have animals of great  
 plu.we-have animals of power      strength.'  
 M VG      NP<sup>c</sup>

83. ékwòr      ònín-ê      'There was a tortoise.'  
 tortoise he-is  
 NP<sup>s</sup>      VG

When selected in conjunction with the non-initiative feature it is realized by the specification of the selection of the features neutral and non-initiative in the verbal group (7.15123).

Examples:

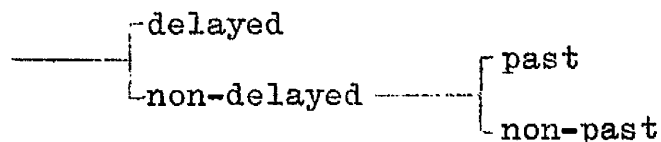
84. ḅè      mápyír      m-á'de      á'gbá:ji á'gbá:jí  
 they all      plu.they-are hunters hunters  
 NP<sup>s</sup>      M VG      NP<sup>c</sup>

'They are all hunters without exception.'

85. ékwòr      òbira      òcèrà      'Tortoise agreed too.'  
 tortoise he-also he-agreed  
 NP<sup>s</sup>      VG

86. m-áyìn      ènínjá'      ndó      ka ékwòr      ka óṣô:m  
 plu.they-went meeting that to tortoise to house  
 M VG      NP<sup>c</sup>      rel NP<sup>a</sup>

6.152 The selection of indicative and negative features is the compound entry condition to the tense systems:



All indicative/negative clauses are realized by the linear ordering of constituents:

NP<sup>s</sup> ^NP<sup>c</sup> ^Item<sup>a</sup> ^VG<sub>indicative/negative</sub>

The further specifications of delayed, non-delayed:past and non-delayed:non-past features are realized by the selection of the corresponding feature in the verbal group (7.152).

The delayed feature expresses an event which has not yet happened, with the implication that it will happen sometime. The past feature expresses an event which has not happened, either which did not happen on a given occasion, or which habitually does not happen. The non-past feature expresses an event which will not happen.

Examples of the delayed negative:

87. m-á'vá:nón àtá:n ótùma ód òyéná  
 plu.chiefs three we-have-not-yet-got  
 M NP<sup>c</sup> VG  
 'We have not yet got three chiefs.'
88. ògbé ótùma óbéhà 'The time has not come yet.'  
 time it-has-not-yet-reached  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG
89. ówòmó' nwo ótùma ókórà 'That banana isn't ripe yet.'  
 banana that it-isn't-yet-ripe  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG

Examples of the past negative:

90. òyòk kò ka é'dén kó'bók' 'The fellow didn't sieze  
 person you on path he-didn't- sieze  
 NP<sup>S</sup> NP<sup>C</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG
91. ìbyì njo ó'yéné òsòsòṅ kə́nsòṅ' 'I don't know that  
 place that particular knowing I-don't- particular place.'  
 NP<sup>C</sup> VG know
92. òṣè máwánè / ṛ-kó'ṣí' 'We don't all do it in the  
 manner one plu.we-don't- same way.'  
 NP<sup>a</sup> M VG do

Examples of the non-past negative:

93. kà:m sá mən̄tá 'I won't go there.'  
 I there I-won't-go  
 NP<sup>S</sup> relator<sup>a</sup>  
 VG
94. mìná' m-ódìk m̀gbá:k 'We won't say a word.'  
 we plu.word we-won't-say  
 NP<sup>S</sup> M NP<sup>C</sup> VG
95. ɔ̀t̀ò:k kǎ:m m̀sɪ́ 'Nothing will hurt me.'  
 thing me it-won't-do  
 NP<sup>S</sup> NP<sup>C</sup> VG

6.16 The minor clause feature is always selected in conjunction with the positive feature and with action transitivity features (6.23). This clause feature signals that the action of the clause is continued over a prolonged period simultaneously with other actions in the discourse, which have been previously mentioned. The minor clause functions as the nucleus of an initiative sentence (5.4) with the restriction that it may not

occur in the initial sentence of a discourse or of a narration utterance. Minor clauses are rare.

The minor feature is realized by:

- i. the specification of the selection of the minor feature in the verbal group (7.16)
- ii. the presence of a relator (6.33) following the auxiliary verb of the verbal group
- iii. the linear ordering of the constituents:

NP<sup>S</sup> ^VG(auxiliary) ^relator ^VG<sub>minor/positive</sub> ^NP<sup>C</sup> ^Item<sup>a</sup>

When the relator selected is ma there is a tonal irregularity in that the tone of the verb-prefix when elided with the final vowel of the relator remains high, despite the preceding downstep influence. When any other relator is selected the elided vowel has low tone.

Examples:

96. ànòŋ ànín ña àtúhò àyà:bà  
 people they-are there they-are-tilling tilling  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG(aux) relator VG NP<sup>C</sup>

'(All this time) the people were there tilling.'

97. òkwò ònín' ma óká:mè  
 hunger it-is here it-siezes-him  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG(aux) VG  
 relator

'Hunger is biting him (was before and is continuing).'

98. ètèn kócèr ófô /// àyòk ànín' ma áfò òtèn  
 animal he-didn't- others they-are here they- animals  
 succeed he-kill kill  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG(aux) rel. VG NP<sup>C</sup>

'He couldn't succeed in killing an animal. (All this time) the others were here killing animals continuously.'

## 6.17 Number

Every clause is specified as either singular or plural.

The singular feature is realized by the specification of the selection of the singular feature in the nominal phrase in subject relation (8.2) or in the subject referent, when no explicit NP<sup>S</sup> occurs in the clause, and also in the verbal group (7.17). As in the person and concord-class systems (6.12) it is the feature selected in the NP<sup>S</sup> which determines the concord of the verbal group.

The plural feature is likewise realized by the specification of the selection of the plural feature in both the nominal phrase subject and the verbal group. In addition, where the referent of the nominal phrase subject is either a) first or second person or b) is manifested by a noun whose plural form belongs to concord-class set 2 (10.2) (this set includes the majority of personal nouns), the plural feature is further realized by the presence of the plural clitic M-. Where a nominal phrase in subject relation is a constituent of the clause, the plural clitic may be omitted.

The plural clitic is prefixed to the first of the following constituents which occur in any given clause, excluding items in focus:

- (6.43) nominal phrase in complement relation
- any item in adjunct relation
- verbal group

Therefore in all positive clauses (except perfect) the plural clitic is prefixed to the verbal group. In perfect clauses it is prefixed to the nominal phrase complement if one occurs, or, if no nominal phrase complement is present, to the verbal group. In either case it precedes the k- 'perfect clitic'. In negative clauses the plural clitic is prefixed to the nominal phrase complement or, if no nominal phrase complement occurs, to the first item in adjunct relation, or, if no item

in adjunct relation occurs, to the verbal group. However in negative clauses in which the auxiliary of the verbal group precedes items in complement and adjunct relation (as in the subjunctive/negative) the plural clitic is prefixed to the auxiliary.

The plural clitic is manifested as follows:

- a) preceding a vowel as [m]
- b) preceding a syllabic nasal, or preceding free pronouns (all of which have an initial consonant) as [mə] (with open transition)
- c) preceding any other consonant as a syllabic nasal homorganic to the point of articulation of the following consonant.

The tonal characteristics of the plural clitic are described in 3.563.

Paradigm of examples:

m-ábà:n ècén 'they tie yams' neutral/non-initiative tense  
M VG NP<sup>c</sup>

ḡ-k-é'cén àbà:nà 'they have tied yams' perfect tense  
M k NP<sup>c</sup> VG

mś-byè kábà:né' 'they didn't tie them' negative:past tense  
M NP<sup>c</sup> VG  
pronoun

For textual examples see examples 64, 67, 69, 70, 77, 79, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 92, 94.

#### 6.18 Subordinate and relative clauses

The function of subordinate clauses is described in 5.64, that of relative clauses in 8.64.

With the modifications stated below the structure of subordinate and relative clauses is parallel to that of

indicative nuclear clauses (6.15). Except where stated features are realized as in the nuclear clause.

Subordinate clauses are specified as either suppositional or non-suppositional.

6.181 The suppositional subordinate clause has features and structure as for the positive, initiative, neutral nuclear clause (6.15)\* with the additional presence of the subordinating link sà:bé or sà wùrà 'even if' preceding the remainder of the clause.

\*or for the negative, past nuclear clause (6.152)

Examples:

99. sà:bé ókwo òkwú ma ô'dón / òkwò bèná m̀ká:má  
 even-if hunger it-comes here Adun hunger you it-won't  
sà:bé NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>initiative</sub> NP<sup>a</sup> seize  
 /neutral

'Even if hunger comes here to Adun, hunger won't grip you.'

100. sà:bé ñgwànwá' nwó ka ódí' kóbě' .....  
 even-if child that to matter he-does-not-reach  
sà:bé NP<sup>s</sup> NP<sup>a</sup> VG<sub>past</sub>

'Even if that small child were too small for the task...'

See also text B 10 and examples 44 and 47.

6.182 The non-suppositional subordinate clause has features and structure as for the indicative nuclear clause (6.15) except for:

a) tonal patterns on the nominal phrase subject and on the verbal group as described in 3.42 and 3.332.

b) the neutralization of the contrast between initiative and non-initiative.

c) the presence of a subordinating link as follows occurring in initial position in the clause.



- c 'when, since' (variant form kw is less common)  
 òtù kw 'instead'  
 òkúrú'c 'since, because'  
 mác 'as if, like, as'  
 ódè 'if, when' - this form may be omitted, the same meaning being signalled by the tone pattern alone (see a) above).

If the negative feature is selected, the subordinate negative particle nà (variant form nà occurs preceding a consonant) occurs following the NP<sup>S</sup> and preceding items in complement and adjunct relation and the verbal group. When the past feature is selected, the negative clitic k- (7.1522) ~~does not~~ occur in the verbal group.

Examples:

101. m-mén'ásí' yén-ò / mácə ń-ká:m' ákpòrà mín:à  
 plu.you-will-do what since plu.me you-have-caught thus  
 mac M NP<sup>C</sup> VG adverb<sup>a</sup>

'What are you going to do, since you have caught me red-handed?'

102. óde òdé' mín:à / àbèń:n:à m-àkwú  
 if it-is thus older-women plu.they-should-come  
 ódè VG adverb<sup>a</sup>

'If it is thus, the older women should come.'

103. òtù kwé' mátéra áfê ofó / bèně bé ...  
 instead of you-will-instead you-kill kill tell him...  
 òtù kw VG

'Instead of killing him, tell him....'

104. ógbé' k-òbèrà / mǎntékèbòrà  
 time-(if) it-has-reached I-will-tell-you  
 NP<sup>S</sup> k VG (subordinate relation signalled by tone alone)  
 'When the time has come, I will tell you.'

For further examples see examples 41-43, 45.

6.183 The structure of the relative clause is very similar to that of the non-suppositional subordinate clause. The only difference is that a relative marker (not a subordinating link) occurs in initial position in the clause. The relative marker shows concord in respect of number and concord-class with the noun which the relative clause modifies (10.2, 10.6)

Examples:

105. ònòŋ kwé' m'óyá:m'ó okpà:r 'someone who will  
 person who he-will-lend-you canoe  
 relative VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 marker
106. ètèn c é'nín, sa ír'á:n'àyà:kè 'an animal which  
 animal which it-is at river-branching is at the fork  
 relative VG NP<sup>a</sup>  
 marker
107. ànòŋ, p'ó k-àb'ará' 'people who are  
 who they-are-big important'  
 relative k VG  
 marker

6.184 Clauses which have all the structural characteristics of a non-suppositional subordinate clause may (rarely) function as the nucleus of a sentence, having exclamatory meaning.

Example:

108. kò c' kò á'sí' m'ín:à 'What a thing to do!'  
 you when you you-do thus  
 c NP<sup>s</sup> VG adverb<sup>a</sup>

For a further example see text D 25.

6.19 The function of preliminary clauses is described in 5.5. The preliminary clause has features and corresponding realization as for the positive, indicative, neutral nuclear clause except

that the tone pattern selected is always tone pattern II (3.32).

Example:

109.	ótúm'	ka é'só:ká	'When evening came...'
	it-reached	to evening	
	VG	NP	

For further examples see section 5.5.

## 6.2 The TRANSITIVITY component: part I - Types of process and Participant roles

### 6.20 Introduction

The clause may be basic, composite or complex. The description so far has been concentrated on the basic clause.

The clause composite and the clause complex may function (with some restrictions stated within the description) in any position in which the basic clause may function, i.e. in nuclear, preliminary or subordinate relation in the sentence, or in relative relation in the nominal phrase. When a clause composite or a clause complex functions in subordinate or relative relation the overt signals of this relation are manifested only in the first clause of the construction, see **examples** 159, 160 and 174.

6.200 The term clause composite is used of those constructions in which the structure of the clause is complemented by a down ranked sentence or utterance. This includes direct or indirect speech quotations (6.233.3) and relational composites (6.22), involving either a mental process (eg. òsòṣà bé 'he knows that...') or an impersonal statement of fact (eg. ńbá:n bé 'it is fitting that...' or a copulative relation (eg. òdé bé 'he is that(like this)....').

The constituents of the clause complex are clauses functioning in linear recursive relation. Clause complexes are of two kinds: expansion (paratactic) complexes (6.201) and extension (hypotactic) complexes (6.202).

#### 6.201 The expansion complex

Expansion complexes are extremely common. The constituent clauses of an expansion complex (6.232.2, 6.234, 6.235, 6.24) function in paratactic linear recursive relation, each clause of the complex having a parallel function in the larger unit of which the complex is a constituent.

Each of the constituent clauses of the complex realizes the same set of mood features. Tense markers (7.1512) and the plural clitic M- (6.17) may be omitted in all except the first clause of the complex. The perfect clitic k- (6.1511) is always omitted in clauses other than the first, but expansion complexes in the perfect tense are rare and never have more than two constituent clauses.

All expansion complexes have the positive polarity feature.

All constituent clauses of the complex share the same subject referent, which may be overtly expressed only in the first clause of the complex. Complement and adjunct referents may also be shared. When a complement referent is shared, it is overtly expressed in the first of the clauses which share the reference, with modifications noted within the description. When an adjunct referent is shared, it is overtly expressed in the last of the clauses which share the reference. For examples, see section 6.24.

Tone patterns of the expansion complex are discussed in 3.34.

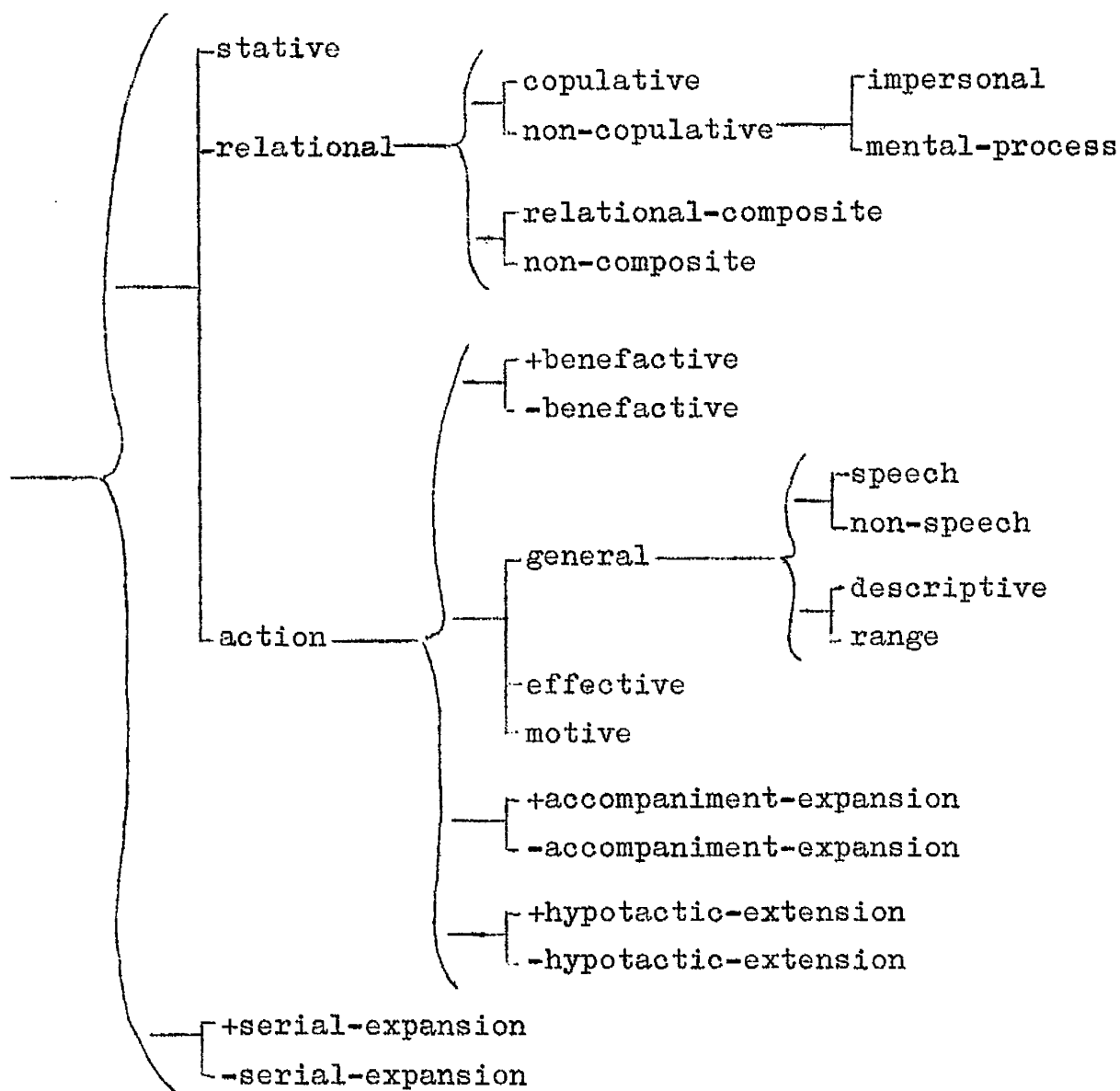
#### 6.202 The extension complex

The constituent clauses of an extension complex (6.236) function in hypotactic linear recursive relation. A hypotactic

complex comprises an initiating clause, which is always an action clause (6.23), in which the mood features of the total complex are realized, and an extension clause which expresses either the purpose or the result of the action, and which is correspondingly specified as either subjunctive:purpose or indicative mood.

### 6.203 Primary specifications of the clause

The following network presents a partial representation of systems relevant to transitivity. Networks showing more detailed specifications will be presented later.



The clause is primarily specified as i) + or -serial-expansion

ii) stative (6.21), relational (6.22) or action (6.23)

Stative clauses are concerned with the expression of a state or quality, an attribute. This attribute is expressed by the verb. The grammatical subject of the clause is the attribuant (the item having this attribute). The complement, if one is present (6.21), is also the attribuant. Stative clauses do not occur in the imperative mood.

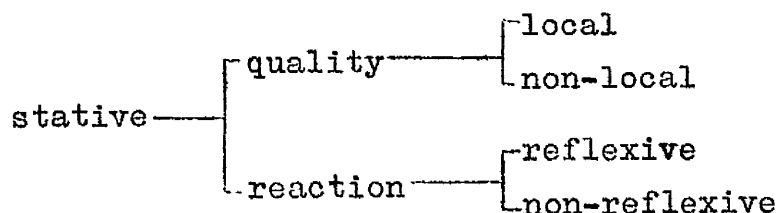
Relational clauses are specified as copulative, impersonal or mental-process. In all relational clauses there is the potentiality that a down ranked sentence may complement the clause (6.203, 6.22). Copulative clauses are again concerned with the expression of an attribute. The complement is the attribute, the subject is the attribuant, and the verb has the function of linking, or relating, the attribuant and the attribute. Impersonal clauses have no specific subject referent- the subject may be translated by the indefinite forms 'there' 'this' 'it'. The complement of the clause is the unmarked focus (6.41). In all other clause types the unmarked focus is the subject. Impersonal clauses do not express an attribute or an event but a state of existence. Impersonal clauses also do not occur in the imperative mood. Mental-process clauses express perception or cognition. The verb expresses the act or state of perception or cognition. The subject is the actor, and the complement is the range.

Action clauses are concerned with the expression of an event. The event is expressed by the verb. The subject is the actor (except in ergative (6.232.1) or directive (6.231) clauses where the subject is the initiator of the event and the complement is the actor). Determined by further specifications of the clause, the complement may have the participant roles of actor, goal, range, resultative, motive, benefactive, recipient or accompaniment. Action clauses may also function as the initiating clause of a hypotactic extension (6.236).

In the examples given below the grammatical role of each NP constituent is labelled (as subject, complement or adjunct). The participant role is labelled only when there is the possibility of confusion.

## 6.21 The stative clause

Stative clauses are further specified as follows:



6.211 The quality feature is realized by the selection of a verb-root of the quality class as nucleus of the verbal group constituent of the clause. Typical examples of quality verbs are:

bár 'to be big'  
 dùm 'to be long'  
 cáme 'to be small'  
 mòm 'to be soft, weak'

Verb-roots of this class form 'abstract' nouns (9.12123).

eg. á-bár-íjí 'bigness'  
 à-dùm-íjí 'length'  
 á-cám-íjí 'smallness'

The subject referent of the clause is the attribuant. If the clause is further specified as local, this feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation which identifies the attribuant in more detail. The same ideational meaning can be conveyed in the non-local form of the quality clause through a relative expansion of the nominal phrase subject. The following examples show the equivalent local and non-local forms of the quality stative clause:

### local

ḡḡwà ḡwo óbáre é'ḡór  
 child that he-big stomach  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>

lit. 'That child is big in respect of his stomach.'

### non-local

èḡór c ḡḡwá' ḡwo ébáré  
 stomach of child that it-big  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG

'That child's stomach is big.'

<u>local</u>		<u>non-local</u>	
ɔ́gá:ɲɛ	é'tém	ètém	cɛ sɡá:ɲé
he-strong	heart	heart	of-him it-strong
VG	NP <sup>C</sup>	NP <sup>S</sup>	VG
lit. 'He is strong in respect of his heart.' 'He is courageous.'		'His heart is strong' 'He is courageous.'	

ɪ̀nò:n njo	ídúmɔ	éñó'kpá'	éñó'kpá' s	ínó:n' njo	édúmɔ
bird	that	it-long	claw	claw	of bird that it-long
NP <sup>S</sup>	VG	NP <sup>C</sup>	NP <sup>S</sup>		VG
'That bird is long in respect of its claw.' 'That bird has long claws.'			'That bird's claw is long.' 'That bird has long claws.'		

6.212 The reaction feature is realized by:

i. the selection of a verb-root of the reaction class in the verbal group. Typical examples are:

dòkɔ	'to be angry'
dà:m	'to be happy'
m:à	'to be ill, to be hurting'

ii. the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation. The complement identifies the attribuant.

If the reflexive feature is further specified, then both the subject and the complement of the clause have the same referent, which is always personal. The complement is always a bound pronoun.

Example :

110.	èwùcèn	èdòk-è	text B 6
	sun	he-angry-him	
	NP <sup>S</sup>	VG <sub>+pronoun-complement</sub>	

'The sun was angry.'



111.    ðrâ:ŋa      ðm:-ê                          text B 4  
river       he-ill-him  
NP<sup>S</sup>         VG<sub>+pronoun-complement</sub>

'The river was ill.'

If the non-reflexive is further specified, then the referent of the subject and complement is not the same, although both are ~~in some sense~~, the attribuant. The subject referent is non-personal and very commonly refers to a part of the body. It may alternatively be indefinite, as in example 113.

Examples:

112. ètém édókə-mè ó'dókó 'I am angry.'  
heart it-angry-me  
NP<sup>S</sup> VG  
+pronoun-complement
113. òtò:k òm:á-m óm:á-é 'I am ill.' lit 'Something is  
thing it-ill-me hurting, illing, me.'  
NP<sup>S</sup> VG  
+pronoun-complement

6.213

## Frequency notes on stative clauses

- a) The emphatic-action feature of the verbal group (7.3), realized by reduplication of the verb, is very common in stative clauses. This is illustrated by examples 112 and 113 above.

- b) The perfect tense form of the verbal group (6.1511) is used with present tense meaning in stative clauses.

eg.	óbár ó'bár	indicative:neutral	} 'He is big.'
	kó'bárá'	indicative:perfect	

The perfect tense form implies some degree of surprise, 'How big he is!'

- c) An ideophone (6.31) occurs frequently as a constituent of a stative clause.

## Examples:

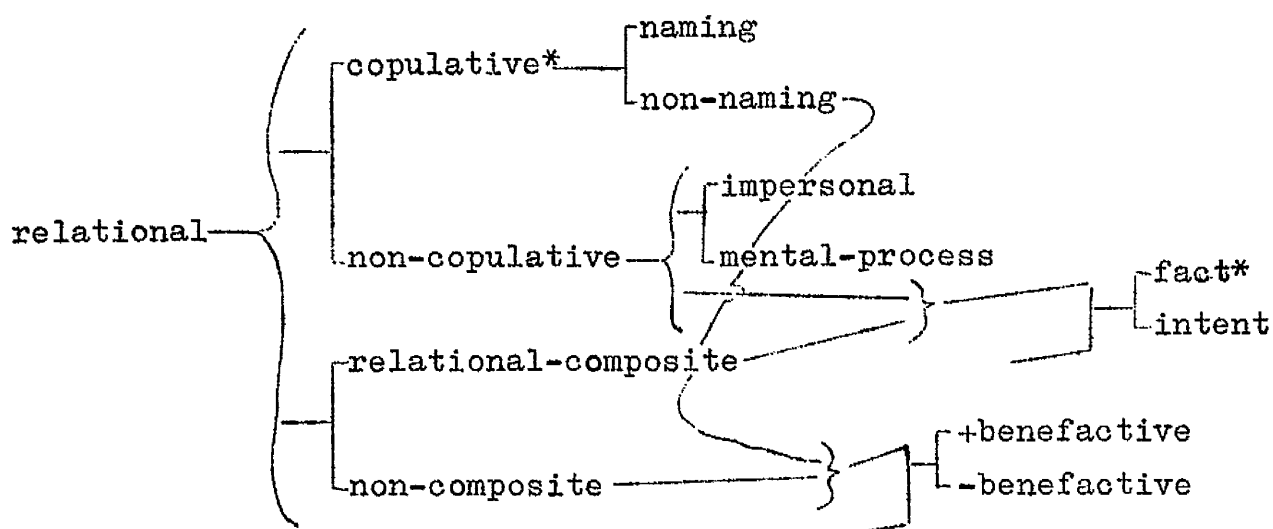
114. èm:à cê edùm bégbòr 'His mouth is long.....'  
 mouth his it-long ....  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG ideophone<sup>a</sup>

115. íbá'ra í'wúrò bé wǎ::r 'The cloth is white ....(as  
 cloth it-white ..... snow)'  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG ideophone<sup>a</sup>

d) A relator or a nominal phrase in adjunct/locative relation (6.33) is rare as a constituent of a stative clause. In this the stative clause contrasts with the descriptive clause (6.233.1).

6.22 The relational clause

The relational feature is further specified as follows:



6.221 The relational-composite feature is realized by the presence of a down ranked sentence complementing the clause, preceded by the syntactic marker bé 'that'. In impersonal and mental process clauses the relational composite is further specified as either fact or intent, these features being realized by the specification that the nuclear clause of the down ranked sentence must have the feature indicative:initiative (6.15), or subjunctive (6.13, 6.14) respectively. In positive

sentences the subjunctive is further specified as purpose. Copulative relational composites always have the feature fact. The meaning of the feature fact is that the phenomenon referred to by the down ranked sentence is a fact, while the feature intent has the meaning that this phenomenon is something which either will or ought to happen, but which is not yet accomplished. Relational composites are illustrated by the following examples: Fact - 118, 119, 121, 125, 127, 129, 130 Intent - 126

6.222 The copulative feature (see also 6.203 ii)) is most commonly selected in conjunction with the non-composite feature.

6.222.1 When further specified as non-naming, the copulative feature is realized by the selection of the verb dé 'to be' in the verbal group. (The verb dé also belongs to the impersonal (6.223) and descriptive (6.233.1) classes). If non-composite, the copulative:non-naming feature is also realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation, which expresses an attribute of the subject referent of the clause.

Examples of copulative:non-naming clauses:

116. bè mápyír má'de á'gbá:ji á'gbá:jí  
 they all they-are hunters-only  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>

'They are all hunters.'

117. òwònító:m / f'ede ócédéntó:k mǎ' mínà mbémbè  
 farm-work it it-is first-thing here us Mbembe  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup> rel NP<sup>a</sup>

'Farm-work is the most important thing for us Mbembe.'

118. èbìràmbìr / édé bé / [èbín d'ó ] 'Ebirambir is a dance.'  
 Ebirambir it-is that dance it-is  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG bé sēntēncē (relational composite)

119. ɪjɔ́:ŋ / ɪdé bɛ́ / [á'ból ɔ̀nɔ̀ŋ àtóká á'céna áyòk...]  
 Ijohng it-is that if-you- person you-take you-send people  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG bɛ́ seize sentence - - - - -

'Ijohng is if you seize a person and take him to others.....'

6.222.2 The copulative:naming feature is realized by:

i. the selection of a verb-root of the naming class in the verbal group, the most common verb of this class being kpèna 'to be named'.

ii. if the feature non-composite is also selected, by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation which is specified as having the feature proper-name (8.12). The NP<sup>C</sup> may be preceded by the syntactic marker bɛ́.

iii. if the feature relational-composite is also selected, the down-ranked sentence whose presence realizes this feature (6.221) is preceded by the syntactic marker bɛ́.

Examples of copulative:naming clauses:

120. kà:m ɪkpén bɛ́ daniel ebuke  
 I I-am-called that Daniel Ebuke  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG bɛ́ NP<sup>C</sup>  
 proper-name

'I am called Daniel Ebuke.'

121. ɔ̀kpènà bɛ́ [ á'ʃi épyí'á' / áʃi á'nán ɪfòr ʃɔ́ ]  
 he-is-called that if-you<sub>do</sub> evil you-do you-give self your  
 VG bɛ́ sentence - - - - -

'He is called "If you do evil you do it on your own behalf..."'

text D 3-4

6.222.3 If both non-composite and non-naming features are selected, the copulative clause is further specified as + or - benefactive (6.234). The +benefactive feature is realized by the presence of a NP or bound pronoun in complement relation identifying the person or object who benefits from the state described.

Example:

122. ékwòr ódé-mína ó'vá:nòr  
 tortoise he-is-us chief  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 †pronoun-complement

'Tortoise is our chief.' lit. 'Tortoise is to us chief.'

6.223 The non-copulative:impersonal feature (see also 6.203 ii)) is realized by:

i. the selection of a verb-root of the impersonal class in the verbal group. The most common members of this class are

- bà:n 'to be fitting'  
 yìn 'to mean'  
 dé 'to be'

If the feature is selected in conjunction with the non-composite feature, only the verb dé may be selected.

ii. if non-composite feature is also selected, by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation <sup>which is also</sup> ~~identifying~~ the focus of the clause (see 6.203 ii)).

Examples of impersonal clauses:

123. mâ / óde édómmá:ná cáminà cé mbě' mēntóma  
 now it-is Adun-custom our which I-say I-will-begin  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 òdìk ògbègbá:k  
 word to-speak

'Now, this is Adun custom which I am going to tell you about.'

124. á'f-ê ñà / óde épyí'bá cò  
 if-you-kill-him there it-is evil your  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup>

'If you kill him there, this is your wickedness.'

125. ña ôdé bɛ́ / [ànòŋ pɛ́ kàbára' / bɛ́ aci èbiràm̀bìr]  
now it-is that people who they-big they Ebirambir  
VG bɛ́ sentence ----- they-eat -----

(relational composite)

'Now it is (a fact that) people who are important are the ones who belong to Ebirambir society.'

126.      óbá:n                bɛ́ [ ñkwóka'    ówó:ŋ ]  
it-is-fitting    that I-should<sub>rest</sub> rest  
VG                bɛ́     sentence     (relational composite)

'It is fitting that I should take a rest.'

127.      óyíné      b́é      [ évá:r      cábòṅà      kékìbà ]  
          it-means      that      chieftancy      your      it-has-been-spoilt  
          VG              b́é      sentence                              (relational composite)

'It means that your chieftancy is spoilt.'

6.224 The non-copulative:mental-process feature (see also 6.203 ii)) is realized by:

- i. the selection of a verb-root of the mental-process class in the verbal group. Common members of this class are:

há:ŋa 'to hear'  
sé 'to see'  
sòŋa 'to know'  
cibɛ 'to think'

- ii. if the feature is selected in conjunction with the non-composite feature, by the presence of a nominal phrase complement.

Examples of mental-process clauses:

128.    kà:m    ñsóri    ɔ́t̪ò:k    kpènári kpèn  
           I            I-know thing every  
           NP<sup>s</sup>        VG            NP<sup>c</sup>

'I know everything.'

129. kósõŋ'                      bə [ ókà      wó ]  
       he-did-not-know that mother it-is  
       VG                      bɛ́    s̄entēncē̄    (relational composite)  
 'He didn't know that it was his mother.'

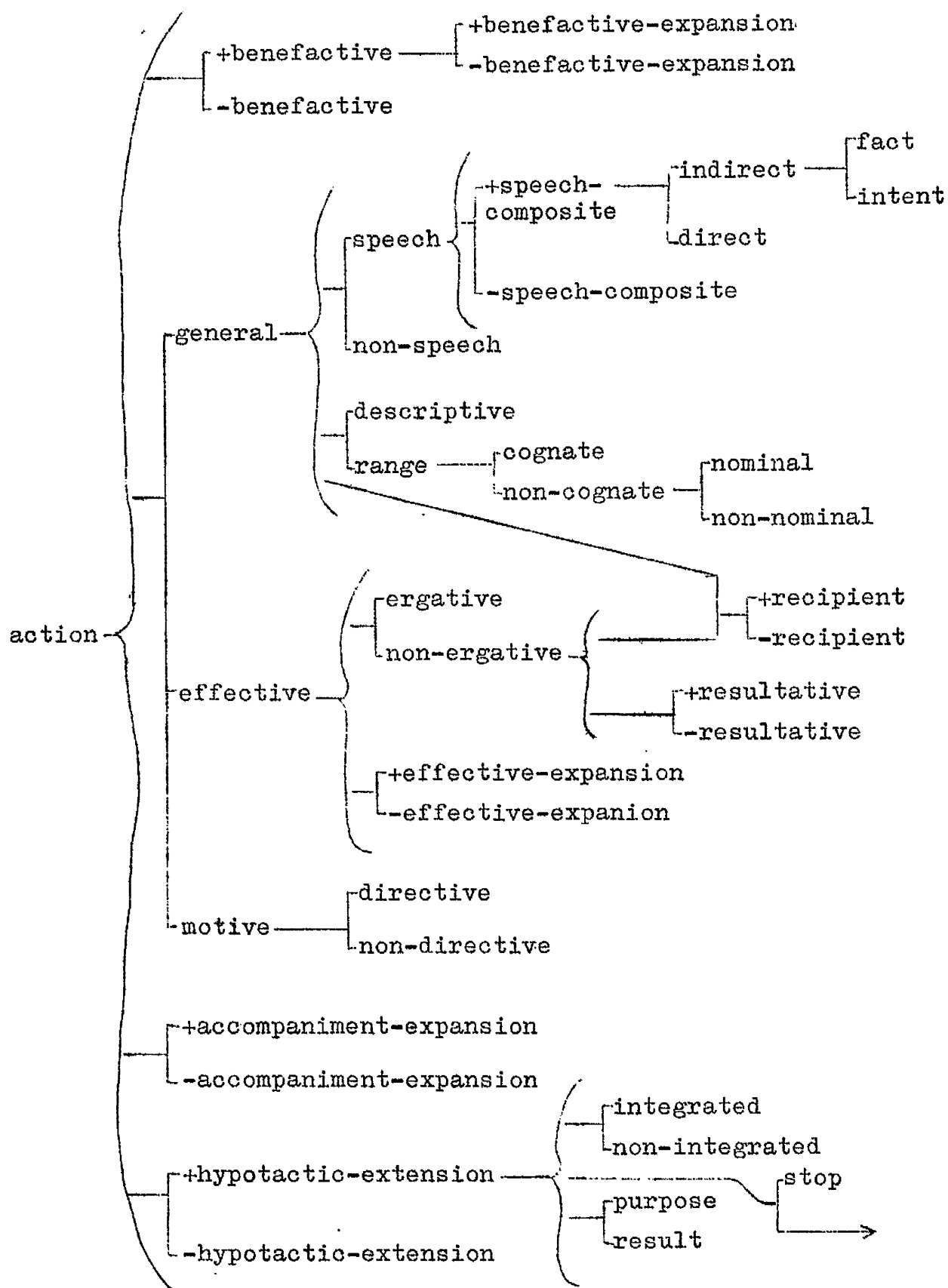
130. ńsé    bə [ ádá:k-ê              ɔdá:ké-ê ]  
       I-see that you-please-him please  
       VG    bɛ́    s̄entēncē̄    (relational composite)  
 'I see that you are pleasing to him.'

#### 6.225 Frequency notes on relational clauses

- a) The initiative mood is very commonly selected in relational clauses. Relational clauses are concerned with the statement of relations and facts, rather than events. One of the common usages of the initiative mood is the description of 'ground' situation in a narration.
- b) Relational clauses in the imperative mood are very rare. Impersonal clauses never occur in the imperative mood.
- c) No examples of copulative or impersonal clauses in the perfect tense or in the delayed negative tense are recorded.
- d) When the relational-composite feature is selected in a relational clause constituents in adjunct relation are very rare. The down ranked sentence complementing the clause always occurs in final position in the clause. This remains true irrespective of the linear order determined through the mood features of the total clause.

6.23 The action clause

The action feature is further specified as follows:





6.231 The motive feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation which identifies the motive of the action.

The motive:non-directive feature is realized by the selection of a verb-root of the motive class in the verbal group. The most common verb-roots of this class are *yìn* 'to fetch, go for' *kwú* 'to come for'. The subject referent identifies the actor.

Examples of motive:non-directive clauses:

131: *òyìn ègbá:jí ña é'gbá ndó*  
 he-went hunting in bush that  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup>/motive<sub>rel</sub> NP<sup>a</sup>  
 'He went hunting in that bush.'

132. *mòyín àjí*  
 we-should-go palm-nuts  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup>/motive  
 'We should go for palm-nuts.'

The motive:directive feature is realized by the selection of the verb-root *tó:m* 'to send someone' and the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation identifying the actor. The subject referent is the initiator of the action.

Example of a motive:directive clause:

133. *òtós:mé-bé afláwè ka é'gbá*  
 he-sent-them flowers in bush  
 VG pronoun-complement/actor NP<sup>c</sup>/motive<sub>rel</sub> NP<sup>a</sup>  
 'He sent them (to fetch) flowers in the bush.'

When a directive clause functions as the initiating clause of a purpose hypotactic-extension (6.236), the NP<sup>c</sup> identifying the motive role may be omitted, the motive being identified by the extension clause. For an example see example 170.

6.232 The effective feature is specified as either ergative or non-ergative, and either + or -effective-expansion.

6.232.1 The ergative feature is realized by

- i. the selection of a verb-root of the descriptive class (6.233.1). Typical examples are gwòṅa 'to open' yèṅe 'to light, to catch light'. Not all descriptive verb-roots may function in ergative clauses.
- ii. the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation identifying the actor. The subject referent of the clause identifies the initiator of the action.

Examples of ergative clauses:

134. móḡwónṅa      òm:à      'He will open the door'  
          he-will-open door  
          VG                   NP<sup>c</sup>/actor

135. òyèṅe      èkpón      'He lit the fire, set the fire alight.'  
          he-lit      fire  
          VG                   NP<sup>c</sup>/actor

6.232.2 In non-ergative effective clauses the subject referent is the actor and the complement identifies the goal of the action. This feature is realized by the selection of a verb-root of the effective class and the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation.

Example of non-ergative effective clause:

136. ɬáɬà    ṅwó      kíjò:k    òd    òbóká      sa    é'gbá  
          father that      snake    he-has-caught    in bush  
          NP<sup>s</sup>                   NP<sup>c</sup>/gl    VG                   rel NP<sup>a</sup>

'That father had caught a snake in the bush.'

Examples given above illustrate the selection of the unmarked feature in the effective-expansion, recipient and resultative systems.

6.232.3 The non-ergative: +recipient feature is realized by the presence of a second item in complement relation which identifies the person or object affected by the action. Not all effective verb-roots may be selected in clauses with this feature. Some verb-roots inherently require the presence of a participant with the role of recipient. Examples are *nán* 'to give' *céna* 'to send'.

Examples of effective:non-ergative: +recipient clauses:

137. *bòṣá mànánə-m àkpùkà*  
 you you-should-give-me money<sub>1</sub>  
 NP<sup>S</sup> VG NP<sup>C/g1</sup>  
+pronoun-complement/rec

'You should give me money.'

138. *ácénə-m ívà*  
 you-send-me children  
 VG NP<sup>C/g1</sup>  
+pronoun-complement/rec

'You send me the children.'

139. *òpe òyòk èşó*  
 he-cut friend head  
 VG NP<sup>C/rec</sup> NP<sup>C/g1</sup>

'He cut off his friend's head.'

6.232.4 The non-ergative: +resultative feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation identifying the result of the action. Not all effective verb-roots may be selected in clauses with the +resultative feature.

Example of effective:non-ergative: +resultative clause:

140. *òkpá:ra ócátó:k' mvo ágbòka áfà*  
 he-cut food that halves two  
 VG NP<sup>C/g1</sup> NP<sup>C/res</sup>

'He cut the food into two halves.'

6.232.5 The +effective-expansion feature is very commonly selected in positive effective clauses. Clauses with this feature are expansion complexes (6.201) having two close-knit clause constituents. The verb-root of the verbal group of the first clause constituent is always lexically restricted to the forms tóka or, less commonly, tíma, 'to take'. Both clause constituents share all subject, complement and adjunct referents. Constituents are ordered as follows in non-perfect clauses:

NP<sup>s</sup> ^VG<sub>toka</sub> ^NP<sup>c</sup>/goal or actor ^VG ^NP<sup>c</sup>/result/recipient ^Item<sup>a</sup>

=====  
In perfect clauses (6.1511) the first NP<sup>c</sup> precedes the first VG.

Clauses with the feature +effective-expansion may be transformed into corresponding basic clauses with the feature -effective-expansion.

Example:

141      ñtóká    íkwùkwù    şâ:m    ñşòk    ñâ  
          I-took box            my        I-put    there  
          VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c</sup>/gl            VG        relator<sup>a</sup>  
=====

The corresponding basic clause with the feature -effective-expansion would be:

          ñşòk    íkwùkwù    şâ:m    ñâ  
          I-put    box            my        there  
          VG        NP<sup>c</sup>/gl            relator<sup>a</sup>

Examples of effective:+effective-expansion clauses:

142.      òtóká    íbyì    òdó            mápyír  
          he-took place he-prepared all  
          VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c</sup>/gl VG            adverb<sup>a</sup>  
=====

'He prepared the whole place.'

143. b́é amà:n ómà:n mbó má'kwu átóka ákwòrító:n mápà  
 they initiates those they-came they-took leaves they-plucked  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c/gl</sup> VG

'The initiates came and plucked the leaves.'

144. òtóka énb:nşó ndó / òbàrè ña í'kírà  
 he-took bird-head that he-threw in hut  
 VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c/gl</sup> VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

'He threw the bird's head into the hut.'

145. òtóka ( ówónó' ŋwó ) / òkpe òñì  
 he-took farm that he-sold elephant  
 VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c/gl</sup> VG NP<sup>c/rec</sup>

'He sold the farm to the elephant.'

text C 3

146. ógbá:náká' ŋwo ó'tóka ótò:k mvó / ònán íkwànnòŋ kwé  
 brother that he-took thing that he-gave wife his  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>toka</sub> NP<sup>c/gl</sup> VG NP<sup>c/rec</sup>

'The brother gave that thing to his wife.'

6.233 The general feature is further specified as speech or non-speech, and descriptive or range. Verb-roots which may function in the verbal group of the general clause are divided into the following classes and sub-classes:

	SPEECH		Non-SPEECH
	dependent	non-dependent	
RANGE	cognate	X	X
	non-cognate	X	X
DESCRIPTIVE	X	X	X

6.233.1 The descriptive feature is realized by the selection of a verb-root of the descriptive class in the verbal group.

Common examples of descriptive verb-roots are: bé 'to stand' bána 'to depart' gwóna 'to open' nína 'to exist'.

A high percentage of descriptive clauses have a nominal phrase or relator in adjunct-locative relation as one of their constituents (6.33).

Examples of descriptive clauses:

147. m'ó'báná' ka é'gbá 'We went off to the bush.'  
 we-depart to bush  
 VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

148. òkwu ó'bé ña ô'gbá:rè 'He came and stood on the  
 he-came-stood on floor floor.'  
 VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

149. ónínj sà 'He is there.'  
 he-is there  
 VG relator<sup>a</sup>

150. òm:a ògwónà 'The door opened.'  
 door it-opened Compare the ergative use of this  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG verb in example 134.

6.233.2 The range feature is realized by the selection of a verb-root of the range class and the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation which identifies the range of the action. The range role is structurally differentiated from the goal (6.2322) in that range clauses cannot be expanded by an effective-expansion (6.232.5).

The range:cognate feature is realized by the further specification of the selection of a verb-root of the cognate sub-class of the range class. The lexical item functioning as

nucleus of the nominal phrase in complement relation is highly predictable. Pronouns do not function in complement relation in this clause type. The NP<sup>C</sup> occurs in its minimal form.

Examples of range:cognate clauses:

151. ògbe            ékwúrá            'He jumped.'  
          he-jumped    jump  
          VG            NP<sup>C</sup>/range
152. ògbá:k        ódìk            'He talked.'  
          he-spoke    word  
          VG            NP<sup>C</sup>/range
153. ògbóba        ñwa    àsí    'He washed the child.'  
          he-washed    child    water  
          VG            NP<sup>C</sup>/~~rac~~    NP<sup>C</sup>/range

The range:non-cognate feature is further specified as nominal or non-nominal.

The nominal feature is realized by the selection of the verb-root ɕì 'to do, make' and the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation whose nucleus (and usually only constituent) is a noun whose root is a verb-root (9.1312). It is thus the NP<sup>C</sup> which identifies the action, the verb has very low lexical content.

Examples of range:non-cognate:nominal clauses:

154. máɕi            ètá            'They quarrel.'  
          they-do        quarrel  
          VG            NP<sup>C</sup>/range
155. mábira        ád àɕi            éríma  
          they-again-habitually-do    fighting  
          VG            NP<sup>C</sup>/range

'They went on fighting again.'

Examples of range:non-cognate:non-nominal clauses:

156. màbe              ápórǎ              'They had a court case.'  
       they-stood    court-case  
       VG              NP<sup>c</sup>/range

157. mód ògbá:k              épyá      mápyír  
       we-habitually-talk    market    all  
       VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>/range    adverb<sup>a</sup>

'We discuss the price.'

6.233.3 General clauses are simultaneously specified as either speech or non-speech. The non-speech feature is realized by the selection of verb-roots from the non-speech sub-class of range or descriptive verb-roots. Examples 147-157 above, except for 152 and 157, illustrate the selection of the non-speech feature.

The speech feature is further specified as + or - speech-composite.

If the -speech-composite feature is selected, the verb-root selected is always of the speech:non-dependent sub-class. Common verbs of this sub-class are: gbá:k 'to speak' bóba 'to ask' cìnc 'to beg' kò:n 'to sing'

Examples 152 and 157 above illustrate the selection of this feature.

The +speech composite feature is realized by:

i. the selection of a verb-root of the speech class, either dependent or non-dependent. Common verb-roots of the dependent sub-class are: bé 'to say' bèn 'to tell'.

ii. the presence of the syntactic marker bé, except that where the verb-root selected in the verbal group is bé 'to say', this link is omitted. It is clearly the same root form. The verb-root bé has a high frequency of occurrence.



iii. If the speech-composite is further specified as direct this feature is realized by the presence of a down ranked utterance unit (4.2) complementing the clause. Examples are numerous in texts B-D. See text B 7-11, 12, 13, 16, 21, 25, 34.

iv. If the speech-composite is further specified as indirect, then the clause is complemented by a down ranked sentence. The further specifications of fact or intent (6.221) are realized by the specification that the nuclear clause of this down ranked sentence must have the features initiative, or subjunctive:purpose respectively.

A down ranked utterance or sentence occurs immediately preceded by the link bé, following all other constituents of the clause. Its position is unaffected by the mood feature realizations.

The selection between direct and indirect speech features is partially determined through the textual component. Within longer utterances, typically non-audience-focussed narration (4.22), reported speech is in the direct form, except that speech reported within a speech quotation is in the indirect form and speech composites functioning in subordinate or relative relation in the sentence or nominal phrase are in the indirect form. Within short, conversation utterances and within audience-focussed narration, speech reports are in the indirect form unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the actual words reported.

Examples of speech-composite:indirect clauses:

a) with the further specification fact

158. ńṡwa òbèn bé [ké mòyín ]  
       child he-says that he he-won't-go-to-farm  
       NP<sup>S</sup> VG bé sentence<sup>—</sup>initiative

'The child says that he won't go to farm.'

159. cɛ́ mábě̀n' bɛ́ [ mɛ́kà:m màgbómá ]  
 since they-say that plu.me they-won't-direct  
 sub- VG bɛ́ sentence initiative  
 link

'since they say that they won't direct me.'

160. ówú'pyí'bá' kw óbě̀n' bɛ́ [ kè mókɥu ónánɛ́ kà:m ]  
 evil-luck which he-says that he he-will-come-give me  
 rel. VG bɛ́ sentence initiative  
 marker

'the evil luck which he says he will come and bring to me.'

b) with the further specification intent:

161. òbè̀nɛ̀-bè bɛ́ [ mànɪ́ɪ' épya áyɪ̀né ]  
 he-told-them that they-should-not market go  
 VG bɛ́ sentence subjunctive  
 +pronoun-complement/rec

'He told them that they shouldn't go to market.'

162. ńcíné íbìnó'kpá:byi òcíné bɛ́ [ ónánɛ̀-̀m ɪ́ɪwà ]  
 I-beg God beg that he-should-give-me child  
 VG NP<sup>c/rec</sup> VG bɛ́ sentence subjunctive

6.233.4 General clauses are also specified as + or - recipient (6.232.3). The selection of the +recipient feature is illustrated in examples 153, 161, 162.

6.234 The action clause is also specified as + or -benefactive. The copulative: non-composite/non-naming clause is also so specified (6.222.3).

The +benefactive feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase or bound pronoun in complement relation which identifies the person or object (usually person) on whose behalf the action is performed. The benefactive role identifies the person for whom an action is done, while the recipient role identifies the person to whom it is done.

The +benefactive-expansion feature is very commonly selected in positive benefactive clauses. Clauses with this feature are expansion complexes (6.201, see also effective-expansion 6.232.5) having two close-knit clause constituents. The verb-root of the verbal group of the second clause constituent is always lexically restricted to the form nán 'give'. Both clauses share all subject, complement and adjunct referents. In non-perfect clauses (6.1512) constituents are ordered as follows:

NP<sup>S</sup> ^VG ^NP<sup>C</sup> ^VG<sub>nán</sub> ^NP<sup>C</sup>/benefactive  
 =====

In perfect clauses (6.1511) the first NP<sup>C</sup> precedes the first VG.

Determined by other features selected simultaneously in the action clause, the first NP<sup>C</sup> may have the role range, ~~recipient~~, result<sup>akir</sup>, motive, goal, or actor.

Clauses with the feature +benefactive-expansion may be transformed into corresponding basic clauses with the feature -benefactive-expansion through the deletion of the second verbal group and the re-ordering of constituents. However more than three participants never occur in a basic clause. Therefore if the realization of other features selected in the clause requires the presence of two NP<sup>C</sup>, then if the + benefactive feature is chosen, it must be further specified as +benefactive-expansion.

Example:

163. má'rábá áwa ànáné-bè  
 they-cook soup they-give-them  
 VG NP<sup>C</sup>/range VG<sub>nán</sub>/+pronoun-complement/ben  
 =====

The corresponding basic clause with the feature -benefactive-expansion would be:

má'rábé-bé awà  
 they-cook-them soup  
 VG NP<sup>C</sup>/range  
 +pronoun-complement/ben

Further examples of clauses with the feature +benefactive-expansion:

164. kɛ okéɛ ɲɲwɛr ɔ́nánɛ-míná-é  
 he he-write book he-give-us  
 NP<sup>S</sup> V<sub>i</sub> NP<sup>C</sup>/range VG  
 +pronoun-complement/ben  
 =====  
 'It is he who writes (book) on our behalf.'

165. sɪm-è náɲɛ-m̃  
 greet-him give me  
 VG +pronoun-complement/recipient VG +pronoun-complement/ben  
 =====  
 'Greet him on my behalf, greet him for me.'

6.235 The action clause is also specified as + or -accompaniment-expansion. Examples given so far illustrate the selection of the -accompaniment-expansion feature. The ~~accompaniment-expansion~~ <sup>is the</sup> means by which the instrumental or 'accompaniment' role is conveyed. Clauses with this feature are expansion complexes (6.201) having two close-knit clause constituents.

The +accompaniment-expansion feature is realized by:

i. the presence of a verbal group which selects the verb-root tíma, less commonly tóka, 'to take, use' as its nucleus.

ii. the presence of a nominal phrase in complement relation which identifies the instrument with which the action is performed or some accompanying factor. There is no structural differentiation between these two concepts and they are here associated as the 'accompaniment' role.

iii. the ordering of constituents, in non-perfect clauses:

NP<sup>S</sup> VG tíma NP<sup>C</sup>/acc VG NP<sup>C</sup> Item<sup>a</sup>  
 =====

In perfect clauses the 1st NP<sup>C</sup> precedes the 1st VG. The role of the 2nd NP<sup>C</sup> is determined by the other features selected in the clause.

Examples of clauses with the feature +accompaniment-expansion:

166. òtíma ágbàṅgbàṅ / òbùba íṣó:m .ṣ ípánṅ pē  
 he-used zinc he-covered houses of wives his  
 VG<sub>tima</sub> NP<sup>c/acc</sup> VG NP<sup>c/goal</sup>  
 =====  
 'He covered (roofed) the houses of his wives with zinc.'

167. òtókà ó'kórò / òpe òyòk èṣó  
 he-took knife he-cut friend head  
 VG NP<sup>c/acc</sup> VG NP<sup>c/acc</sup> NP<sup>c/goal</sup>  
 =====  
 'He cut off his friend's head with a knife.'

168. ɔ̀nṅ-è / ótím fṛwà kwē / òyìn àrṣḗ ka é'só:ká  
 person she-took child her she-went mushrooms in evening  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>tima</sub> NP<sup>c/acc</sup> VG NP<sup>c/motive</sup><sub>rel</sub> NP<sup>a</sup>  
 =====  
 'A person went mushrooming with her child in the evening.'

text A 5

6.236 The action clause is also specified as + or -hypotactic-extension. Examples given so far illustrate the selection of the unmarked feature. The hypotactic-extension is the means by which the concepts of purpose and result are expressed.

The hypotactic-extension is an extension complex (6.202) consisting of two clause constituents, of which the first is an initiating clause which realizes the mood features of the total clause complex, and the second expresses the result or purpose of the action of the initiating clause. The second clause is specified as positive/subjunctive:purpose (6.13) or negative/subjunctive (6.14) if the hypotactic-extension is specified as purpose; or as indicative:non-initiative if the hypotactic-extension is specified as result. Either of the constituent clauses may be basic or complex. There is the possibility of potentially infinite recursion with the additional presence of further extension clauses but in practice a result complex seldom has more than two constituents, and a purpose complex seldom more than three (see example 183).

If the hypotactic-extension is further specified as integrated, this feature is realized by the specification that the subject referent of the extension clause must be the same as the referent of one of the items in complement relation in the initiating clause. No explicit NP<sup>s</sup> need occur in the extension clause, although one may. If the purpose feature is also selected, then the link bé may occur preceding the extension clause.

Examples of clauses with the +hypotactic-extension:integrated

a) with the selection of the feature purpose feature:

169. ògbóṣo      m'ból:k      sê      iwúr òwúr  
          he-washed hands      his      they-should-be-clean  
          VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>                      VG  
          =====

'He washed his hands clean, he washed his hands to make them clean.'

170. má'tó:m      óròkìmà:n      bé      ód ódo                      é'kpón  
          they-sent      sheep              that he-should-repair      fire  
          VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>                      bé      VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>  
          =====

'They sent the sheep to repair the fire.'

b) with the selection of the feature result

171. èdo                      óşó:m      kwè      má: /      òjífè  
          he-prepared house      his      plenty      it-good  
          VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>                      adverb<sup>a</sup>      VG  
          =====

'He tidied up his house until it was all in order.' text B 16

172. òci                      ábè                      mbó      mápyír /      ábè      mbo      á'şá  
          he-ate      wild-pears      those      all                      pears      those      they-finish  
          VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>                      NP<sup>s</sup>                      VG  
          =====

'He ate all those wild pears until the wild pears were finished.'

Frequency note: The adverb mátètèmá: (variant form má:) 'plenty' frequently occurs as a constituent of the initiating clause of a result hypotactic extension.

The selection of the non-integrated feature is realized by the absence of a shared reference between the NP<sup>C</sup> of the initiating clause and the NP<sup>S</sup> of the extension clause, and by the presence of the link bé preceding the extension clause. However, where the subject referent of the extension clause is 1st or 2nd person, the link bé may be omitted. Examples of clauses with the +hypotactic-extension:non-integrated

a) with the selection of the feature purpose feature:

173.   kwu       ńńán-ô                   idímá'  
          come    I-should-give-you calabash  
          VG       VG                               NP<sup>C</sup>  
          =====

'Come so that I should give you a calabash.'

174.   é'mód ńńò:ma       ó'bó:k ña é'kpá'   bé   ótóka       óscáṭṭó:k  
          if he-will-insert hand   in pocket that he-should-take food  
          VG                   NP<sup>C</sup>   rel NP<sup>a</sup>       bé   VG                   NP<sup>C</sup>  
          =====

'if he puts his hand into his pocket to take the food' text D 12

b) with the selection of the feature result

175.   òbó:k kw éce       ówòkó'   bé   ékwòr   òtò       sa ògbáṭém  
          hand   of leopard it-shook that tortoise he-fell in thicket  
          NP<sup>S</sup>                   VG                   bé   NP<sup>S</sup>       VG       rel NP<sup>a</sup>  
          =====

'The leopard's paw shook so that the tortoise fell into the thicket. The leopard's paw shook with the result that the tortoise fell into the thicket.'

6.24 All positive clauses are specified as + or - serial-expansion. (The +serial-expansion feature may only be selected if the positive mood feature is also selected). The selection of the +serial-expansion feature is a re-entry condition to the whole transitivity network. The system therefore controls the presence of clauses functioning in linear recursive (paratactic) relation, each of which has its own transitivity characteristics, while the whole complex shares a single set of mood features.

cf. 6.201. There is potentially infinite recursion. In practice the highest number of clauses recorded as immediate constituents of a serial-expansion is six.

Examples of serial-expansion complexes:

176. ìnḅ:n ìḅira ìbé ṣá / ìḳò:n èmḅòṛ  
 bird it-again it-stood there it-sang song  
NP<sup>S</sup> VG relator<sup>a</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>

'Again the bird stood there and sang.'

177. ṣó:n ḍèḅ ṣc̣áṭ̣ṣ:k' ṭíma kẉú  
 go buy food take come  
VG VG NP<sup>C</sup> VG VG

'Go and buy food and bring it here.'

The final constituent clause of this example is itself an accompaniment-expansion, which shares the reference of the NP<sup>C</sup> constituent of the preceding clause.

178. èẉùc̣èn èṛóḃ / èṇàrà sa í'p̣úḅâ:ṇ  
 sun he-ran he-is-on on roof  
NP<sup>S</sup> VG VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

'The sun ran off, he got onto the roof.' text B 27-28

179. òyòk òf̣ónà óyìn épyá /// òyòk ɲẉósa òníná  
 friend he-went he-went market friend other he-stayed  
NP<sup>S</sup> VG VG NP<sup>C</sup> /// NP<sup>S</sup> VG →

ṇ̃a òḳèṛ èṭèn  
 there he-watched meat  
relator<sup>a</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>

'One friend went off to market. The other stayed there and watched the meat.'



## 6.25 Layering

The recursion of clauses within clause complexes allows for considerable layering since any constituent clause functioning in linear recursive relation within a clause complex may itself be basic, complex or composite. The following examples illustrate this layering.

180.      òbìra      òṭa      òyòk / òyòk      òṭo      òpé  
 he-again he-shot friend friend he-fell he-died  
 VG                      NP<sup>C</sup>                      NP<sup>S</sup>      VG                      VG
- 
- a
- 
- b

Where a is a serial-expansion complex functioning as the extension clause within a hypotactic-extension:result complex b.

181.      òdóŋa                      òtèŋkòbò      ña ìsék      /      òtòka      ókè      sa ó'bó kwè/  
 he-picked-up bone                      on ground      he-took he-put in bag his  
 VG                      NP<sup>c</sup>                      rel NP<sup>a</sup>                      VG                      VG                      rel NP<sup>a</sup>
- 
- a
- 
- b
- 
- òtíma      ó'báná'                      sa ò'tér                      d
- he-took he-went-off to compound
- VG                      VG                      rel NP<sup>a</sup>
- 
- c

'He picked up the bone from the ground, he put it in his hunting-bag and went off with it to the compound.'

Where b is an effective-expansion complex, and c is an accompaniment-expansion, both of which function as constituent clauses in a serial-expansion complex d. The first clause of the serial-expansion is a basic clause a. The reference of the  $NP^C$  constituent of the first clause is shared throughout the serial-expansion.

182. èwùcèn èdo ìfòr / ètá:ŋ íbyì mápyír /  
 sun he-prepared self he-swept place all  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> adverb<sup>a</sup>  
 -----  
 a b

èdo óşó:m kwè má: / òjìè / òbè [óyòdíşóè kwà:m ókwú mâ]  
 he-prepared house his plenty it-good he-said friend my he-comes  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup> adverb<sup>a</sup> VG VG sentence  
 -----  
 -----  
 c d  
 -----  
 e

'The sun got ready, he swept the place completely and prepared his house until it was good saying, "My friend is coming."'

Where the structure c is a hypotactic-extension complex, and d is a speech-composite:direct, both of which function together with the basic clauses a and b as the clause constituents of the serial-expansion complex e. text B 15-17

183. méndà mètá ká má:tà ka óşó:m / ótá-mìna  
 today we-go to Martha to house she-should-tell-us  
 temporal VG rel NP<sup>a</sup> VG  
 -----  
 a b  
 -----  
 d

óşè ógbá:k ódìk kpènáŋkpèn mòkér  
 story she-should-speak word any we-should-write  
 NP<sup>c</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> VG  
 -----  
 -----  
 b c  
 -----  
 d

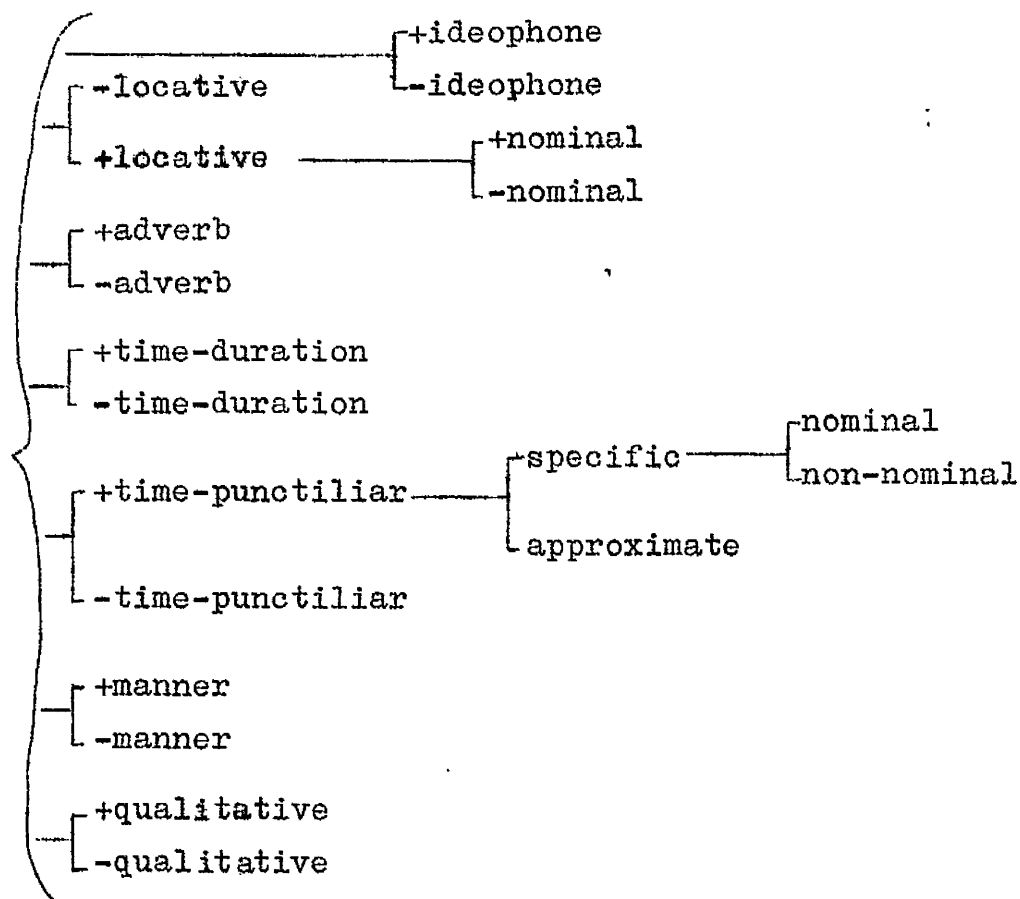
'Today we are going to Martha's house so that she should tell us a story and speak something to us, so that we should write it.'

b is a serial-expansion complex (purpose mood). The total structure d is a purpose hypotactic-extension complex which has three constituent clauses a b and c, of which a is the initiating clause and b and c are extension clauses.

### 6.3 The TRANSITIVITY component: part II - Circumstantial roles

## 6.30 Introduction

The presence of items in adjunct relation in the clause is determined through the selection of features from the following branch of the transitivity network. Items in adjunct relation are here described only at primary delicacy. No attempt is made to describe details of co-occurrence restrictions in conjunction with different process types.



The position of all adjuncts (except temporal particles 6.35) in relation to other constituents of the clause is determined through the realization of mood options (6.1). When

more than one item in adjunct relation occurs in a clause, the linear ordering of these items in relation to each other is as follows:

<u>order 1</u>	<u>order 2</u>	<u>order 3</u>	<u>order 4/5 (variable)</u>
relator	NP <sup>time-punctiliar</sup>	adverb	ideophone
NP <sup>locative</sup>	temporal		NP <sup>time-duration</sup>
			NP <sup>manner</sup>
			Clause <sup>qualitative</sup>

It is however, very rare for more than two marked features to be selected in any one clause.

### 6.31 Ideophone

The +ideophone feature is realized by the presence of an ideophone. An ideophone is an expressive noise qualifying a verbal action or state. Its phonological structure is outside the dominant phonological system, being characterized by very long vowels, nasalized vowels, consonantal clusters, reduplication and accentuated pitch contrasts. Ideophones are very common in conversation. The ideophone class is an open class. Common examples are given below. The ideophone is often preceded by the syntactic marker bé (contracted form bé).

Examples:

184.    ówúrú      bé wã::ŋ      'It is white as ....'  
          it-white      ....  
          VG              ideophone
185.    òtò      bé gm\      'He fell..bump.'  
          he-fell      ...  
          VG              ideophone
186.    òkái,é      bé yoyoyoyo      'She fried (it) fizzle...'  
          she-fried      ....  
          VG              ideophone

187. òpé békpa 'He died on the instant.'  
 he-died ...  
 VG ideophone
188. òníńá sà b́ sée:p 'She stayed there ..quiet.'  
 she-stayed there quiet  
 VG relator ideophone

Gestures often accompany ideophones. A gesture may even replace the ideophone:

189. má'fú ñá' b́ (claps) 'They crowded there....'  
 they-filled there  
 VG relator (gesture)

### 6.32 Adverb

The +adverb feature is realized by the presence of an adverb (9.12). Up to three adverbs may occur in one clause, but more than one is not common.

Example:

190. má'kwu átorá mápyír mátètémá:  
 they-come gather all plenty  
 VG adverb adverb

'They come and gather all together continually.'

For further examples see section 9.12.

### 6.33 Locative

The +locative feature is realized by the presence of a relator. The relator class also functions as a constituent of the demonstrative word (8.41 see also 5.62 6.16). The relator class comprises:

sa	'there, a relation in the distance'
ma	'here, a relation in the immediate vicinity'
ña , ka	'a relation in neutral position'

The function of the relator is comparable to that of the preposition in English but does not indicate the nature of the relation in terms of direction or position, but rather the distance at which it occurs.

If the locative feature is further specified as +nominal the nominal feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase immediately following the relator identifying the location of the event or state expressed by the verbal group. A nominal phrase in this relation is also accompanied by locative tone pattern (3.41). The relator then functions as a syntactic marker signalling the adjunct/locative relation of the nominal phrase in the clause.

Examples:

a) with the selection of the feature +nominal:

191. mòd ódèè ówòmó sa èpyá-é  
 let-us-buy banana there market  
 VG NP<sup>o</sup> rel NP<sup>a/locative</sup>

'Let us buy bananas there at the market.'

(implies that the speaker is not at the market  
 at the time of speaking)

192. ..ńtòm ósèńá kwà:m ma í'yágbín  
 I-begin journey my here world  
 VG NP<sup>o</sup> rel NP<sup>a/locative</sup>

'...I began my journey here in the world'

b) with the selection of the feature -nominal

193. òníná sà 'He remained there!'  
 he-remained there  
 VG relator<sup>a/locative</sup>

194. kò mákwórà mâ 'You will remain here.'  
 you you-will-remain here  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG relator<sup>a/locative</sup>

6.34 Time-duration

The +time-duration feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase signifying the duration of time during which the action of the verbal group occurs. There are no overt signals of the relation except for the linear position in which the phrase occurs. The nucleus of the nominal phrase is always a noun denoting time.

Example:

195.    şà:be    óm:á-m    mátètémá:    ìcò    kí'búnş    text B 10  
          even-if it-ill-me plenty    year whole  
                          VG                    adverb<sup>a</sup>    NP<sup>a</sup>/time-duration
- 'Even if I were ill continually for a whole year...'

6.35 Time-punctiliar

The +time-punctiliar feature is specified as approximate or specific. It identifies the point of time at which the action of the verbal group occurs.

6.351 The approximate feature is realized by the presence of a temporal particle occurring in initial position in the clause. Its linear position is distinct from that of other items in adjunct relation in that it is invariable while the position of all other adjuncts is determined through the realization of mood features.

Temporal particles comprise:

wá 'long past time' occurs in conjunction with perfect or neutral positive, or delayed or past negative tense features. It commonly occurs at the opening of a narration with a meaning equivalent to 'once upon a time' (text B 1 D 1).

wúrâ 'past time' occurs in conjunction with all tense features. In conjunction with the future tense it indicates future time in the past (example 200).

wúrâ also occurs with high tone on the first syllable in two particular usages:

a) in conjunction with the initiative mood feature it signifies obligation (examples 202, 203), either moral or circumstantial.

b) in subordinate clauses (5.64) it signals a hypothetical situation.

şá 'future time' occurs in conjunction with all tense features. In conjunction with perfect tense it signals past time in the future (example 198)

Examples:

196. ɔ̀kà kw řṇwá ṇwó kwé' wá' kòpá'  
mother of child that who past she-had-died

temp- VG  
particle

'The mother of that child, who had previously died.'

197. şá mókwúnà  
future she-will-return  
temp- VG  
particle

'She will return.'

198. kà:m óde ăşà mēñká:n-ò ñâ / şşà ká'vúrá'  
I if future I-will-help-you here if-future you-have-climbed  
NP<sup>S</sup> sub-link VG relator temp- VG  
temporal- particle

şá mábáke áfó-m̃  
future you-will-turn you-kill-me  
temp- VG VG  
particle

'If I will help you now, if you will have climbed out, you will turn and kill me.'

199. ɪbyì njó şş wùrá máyine óm:èné'  
place that where past they-went firewood  
temp- VG NP<sup>C</sup>  
particle

'That place where they had been for firewood'



200. wùrà mán'ófó-m 'He was about to kill me.'  
 past he-is-about-to-kill-me  
 temp- VG  
 particle

201. wùrà ká:m' átèkà bé ákárí á'rá:zì  
 past me you-have-told that you-fry rice  
 temp- NP<sup>c</sup> VG bé sentence  
 particle

'Before you told me that you had cooked rice.'

202. kò wúra àkó:nó òkúrí' bé kò wò álèè émòŋ  
 you you-ought-sing because you is you-sweet voice  
 NP<sup>s</sup> temp- VG  
 particle

'You ought to sing because you're the one who has a sweet voice.'

203. wúra ìvâ náde á'cádànè / àtá:n á'pé  
 ought children they-are six three they-die  
 temp- NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 particle

'There ought to have been six children, but three died.'

6.352 The specific feature is specified as either nominal or non-nominal.

6.3521 The nominal feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase preceded by a relator (6.33) and accompanied by locative tone pattern (3.41). The nucleus of the nominal phrase is a noun denoting time.

Example:

204. ékwòr òfóná ña é'só:ká ndó text C 14  
 tortoise he-went-off in evening that  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>/time-punctiliar

'The tortoise went off that evening.'

6.3522 The non-nominal feature is realized by the presence of a temporal word. Temporal words may also function in relative relation in the nominal phrase (8.631).

Temporal words comprise:

mëndà	'today'	( ma ê'wú ndà 'here day this')
má:mbà	'nowadays'	( ma í'wú mbà 'here days these')
wëndó	'long ago'	( wá èwù ndó 'past day that')
mókpándà	'now'	( ma ògbé ? 'here time .. ')
òpyíné	'tomorrow'	
céná	'yesterday'	also yínà yínà ñá 'immediately'

Some temporal words are clearly historically contractions of a nominal phrase preceded by a relator or temporal particle. They have now become fossilized forms, the contraction being further than that determined by usual elision rules.

Their somewhat indeterminate status is reflected in the fact that they may occur either in the same position as temporal particles (in initial position in the clause) or in the same position as nominal phrases in time-punctiliar relation, in order 2 position of adjunct items.

Temporal words may be reduplicated for emphasis.

Examples:

205. òvúnwá kw ómà:né' mëndà mëndà  
 goat-kid who he-born today today  
 VG temporal<sup>a</sup>/time-punctiliar

'A goat kid who was born this very day.'

206. kɔ̃ wèndo á'kpé+m ówónó nwà text C 25  
 you past you-sell-me farm this  
 NP<sup>s</sup> temporal VG NP<sup>s</sup>

'You have already sold me this farm. You sold me this farm sometime ago.'

6.36 Manner

The +manner feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase identifying the manner in which the action of the verbal group is performed. The relation is not overtly marked except by the linear position of the nominal phrase.

Example:

This feature is not common.

207.    mäsérì            ánòrì    áfà    àfà    áfà  
           they-walk    people 2    2    2  
           VG               NP<sup>a</sup>/manner

'They walked two by two.'

6.37 Qualitative

The +qualitative feature is realized by the presence of a down ranked clause which is lexically restricted to the two items:

òkpán    é'dén    'lit. it passes way, = very much'  
   òtàrà            'lit. it adds    = also'

Examples:

208.    kəńtèn    òfà    òkpán    é'dén    'He has killed plenty of  
           animals he-    it-passes way    animals'  
                           has-killed  
           NP<sup>c</sup>    VG    clause<sup>a/qualitative</sup>

209.    ìfòr    ìp-é'            mātètèmá:    òkpán    é'dén  
           body    it-died-him    plenty    it-passes way  
           NP<sup>s</sup>    VG            adverb<sup>a</sup>    clause<sup>a/qualitative</sup>

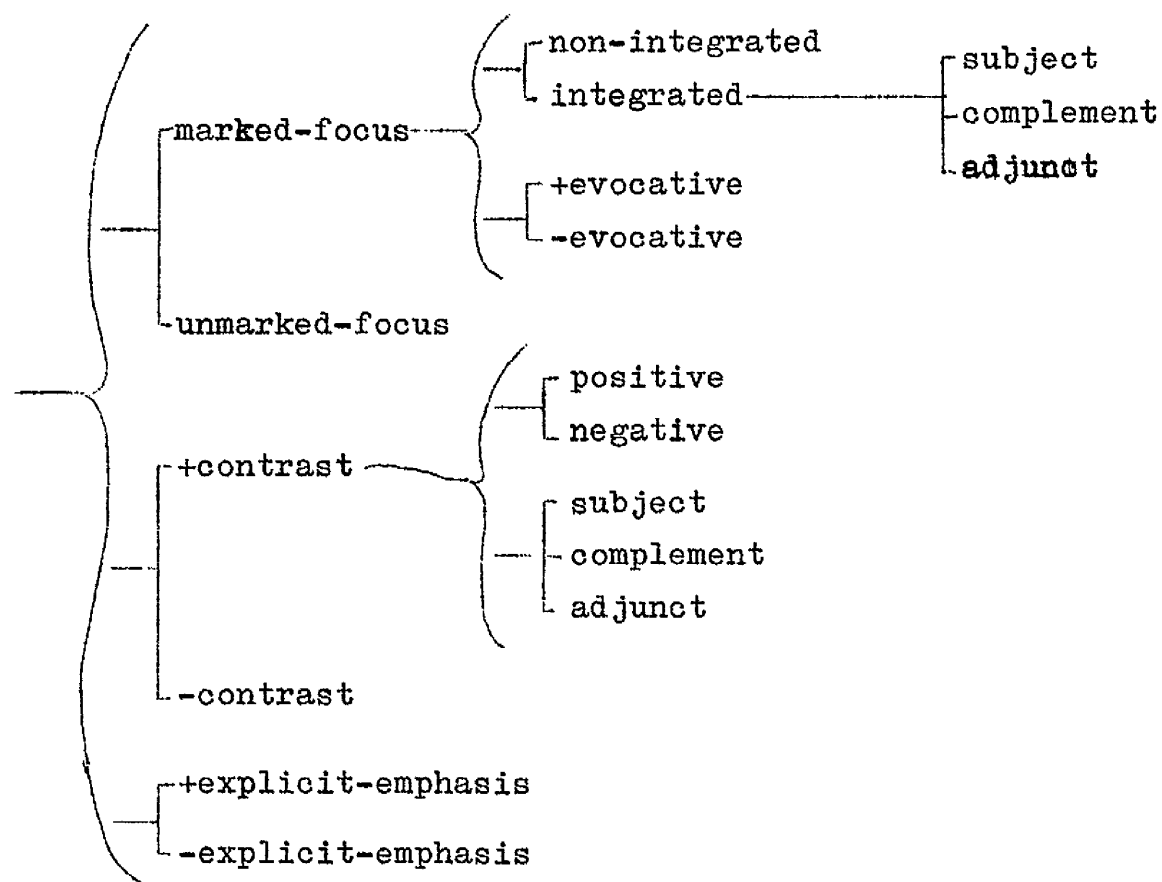
'He was very, very sorry.'

## 6.4 The THEME component

### 6.40 Introduction

The description concentrates on three aspects of the structure of the clause relevant to the textual function of language. 1. Focus - the identification of the 'psychological subject' of a clause. 2. Contrast - the means by which a referent is brought into implicit contrast with another referent. 3. Explicit-emphasis - the way in which one item may be given prominence relative to other referents.

The clause is the point of origin of the network:



### 6.41 Focus

There is usually only one item in focus in a sentence. This is normally a constituent of the nuclear clause of the sentence. The focus, or psychological subject, of the sentence is identified through the linear order of the constituents of the nuclear clause

and through the intonation contours.

6.411 The unmarked-focus feature is realized through the linear ordering of constituents as described in the realization of the mood features (6.1). A clause with unmarked focus has a single intonation contour. In a clause with the unmarked-focus feature, the focus of the clause is the subject referent (except in impersonal clauses 6.223).

6.412 The marked-focus feature is realized by the linear ordering of constituents such that the item in focus occurs in initial position in the clause (other items occurring in the order determined by mood features.) The item in focus may also precede any clause in subordinate relation or other peripheral constituents of the sentence, being thus separated from the clause of which it is a constituent. The item in focus carries a separate intonation contour, most commonly rising intonation. If the feature is further specified as +evocative this specification is realized by the presence of a final marker -o or -e (5.8) suffixed to the item in focus. The selection of the marked-focus feature makes the focus of the clause explicit. The further selection of the +evocative feature gives the focus increased prominence.

The marked-focus feature is further specified as integrated or non-integrated. The integrated feature is realized by the specification that the item in focus is a constituent of the clause in subject, complement or adjunct relation. Only a nominal phrase or a temporal word may be in focus. Under certain circumstances the item in focus may be replaced within the structure of the clause by a pronoun.

Examples of clauses with the feature marked-focus:integrated:

210. ébá'rágbòk c ín:à kw étámá / ònòr kód òcá:ré  
           cloth-knot of woman of age person he-cannot-loosen  
           NP<sup>c</sup>/focus NP<sup>s</sup> VG

'The knot in the cloth of an old woman, noone can loosen (that).'

211. ékwòr-ò / c áyók' mátòm' bɛ̀ ònòn̩ ònòn̩ mòṭa      ókà /  
tortoise as others they- that each-one he-should- mother  
begin shoot
- 
- NPs/focus clause in subordinate relation

ké	əd	òʔa	é'cí
he	he-went-shot	stick	
NP <sup>S</sup>	VG		NP <sup>C</sup>

'The tertoise, when the others began each one to shoot his mother, he went and shot a stick.'

For examples in text: text A 5 B 1,10, 31 C 5, 18 D 10, 16,

The non-integrated feature is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase which has no other grammatical role in the clause. It states the topic of the sentence, indeed its relevance often extends beyond the immediate sentence. A non-integrated nominal phrase in focus often occurs initially in the utterance and has reference to the total utterance.

Example:

212.    òbé [ ñṙwà ṙwá' kwé wèndó mád àròr má-ě / m̃fón  
         he-said child this who before you-were- here I-went  
             NP<sup>focus</sup> seeking
- m̃pyìrè sa ê'gbá-ě / ñsíra ótènkwóbó-ě /// kè kwə m̃'bé .... ]  
I-reach to bush I-knock meat-bone so that I-say

'He said, "About this child whom ~~you~~ were seeking here, I went off into the bush and knocked against a meat-bone. So that I say...."'

A further example occurs in text B 7.

The selection of the item in marked focus is independent of the selection of marked contrast. One item may be selected as focus, another as contrast (example 219). If the same item is selected both as focus and contrast, then a free pronoun occurs identifying the contrast referent (examples 215, 218).

## 6.42 Contrast

The selection of the +contrast feature is the means by which one item is placed in contrast with some other referent in the text. The item in contrast may be any nominal phrase constituent of the clause, a relator, a temporal word or the adverb mín:à (9.123). (6.33) (6.3522)

The +contrast feature is realized as follows:

- i. the linear ordering of the constituents of the clause such that the item in contrast occurs in initial position in the clause (following any item in focus 6.41), the order of other constituents being determined through the mood features.
- ii. the presence of an emphatic particle (9.11)(except under the conditions described in v and vi below) following the item in contrast and showing concord with it in respect of number and concord-class.
- iii. tonal patterns on the clause as for the relative clause (3.33 3.42).
- iv. when the item in contrast is a nominal phrase in complement or adjunct relation in the clause, by the additional presence of a relative marker (8.6 10.6) immediately following the emphatic particle and also showing concord with the item in contrast in respect of number and concord-class.
- v. if positive feature is further selected, if the item in contrast is a pronoun, the emphatic particle may be omitted.
- vi. if positive feature is further selected, if the item in contrast is a relator, a temporal word or the adverb mín:à, then the emphatic particle is not present. A relative marker of set 1 occurs immediately following the item in contrast.

The further specification of positive or negative features is realized by the selection of a positive or negative emphatic particle (9.11) respectively.

For the discussion of interrogative items in contrast see section 5.1322.

The +contrast feature may not be selected in conjunction with the imperative mood feature.

Examples:

213. òvǎ:nón wə ó'nán' ósáná bé...  
 chief it-is he-gives order that...  
 NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 e-p

'It is the chief who gives the order that....'

214. áfóná mbá' mápyír á'sán àká:b ka ékònakèká' ///  
 families these all is-not they-draw at palm-stream  
 NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> e-p VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

- àbónòntém / bé màká:b ka ótèhà-è  
 Ovonom-heart they<sup>s/contrast</sup> they-draw at Otenga  
 NP<sup>s/focus</sup> NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>

'It isn't all the family-quarters who draw water at Palm stream. Ovonom centre, they draw at Otenga.'

215. èyà:bà kó'sá / òjínôn / kè wə ópe àcívá-é  
 tilling it-has-finished man he it-is he-cuts stakes  
 NP<sup>s/focus</sup> NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> e-p VG NP<sup>c</sup>

'When the tilling is finished, the men, it is they who cut the stakes.' (Taken from a discussion on work done by men in contrast to women on the farm.)

216. kà:m wə nde òdím / kə áde ìkwà  
 I it-is I-am you you-are wife  
 NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 e-p

'It is I who am the husband and you are the wife.'



217. ékwòr wó kw ó'tíne òbàrè sa é'ténṭém  
 tortoise it-is whom he-took he-threw in compound  
 NP<sup>c</sup>/contrast e-p rel- VG VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>  
 marker

'It was the tortoise (not a stone) whom he took and threw into the compound.'

218. ókí'má' ṣwó kwé ké ojé ñà / kè  
 yam that which he he-threw there it  
 NP<sup>c</sup>/focus NP<sup>c</sup>/contrast

- kw ípánòṛ á'tók / máwò:n òdà:r<sub>1</sub>  
 which women they-take they-cook fufufu  
 relative NP<sup>s</sup> VG VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
 marker

'That yam which he throws down there, that is the one which the women use to cook fufufu.'

219. ìkwàndòṛ ṣwó / òñì wó kwé' móbá-é  
 woman that elephant it-is whom she-will-marry  
 NP<sup>s</sup>/focus NP<sup>c</sup>/contrast e-p rel- VG  
 marker

'That woman, it is the elephant (not the tortoise) whom she will marry.'

220. ìmá-é / mēnda àsán kwé míná mó'tíḃ-o  
 today is-not that we we-show-you  
 temporal<sup>a</sup>/contrast e-p rel- NP<sup>s</sup> VG  
 marker

àcè páminà 'No, it isn't today that we reveal  
 names our our names to you.'  
 NP<sup>c</sup>

221. mín:á' kw ósěṛ 'This is the way he  
 thus that he-go goes.'  
 adverb<sup>a</sup>/contrast rel- VG  
 marker

For examples in text see      A 3   B 9, 23   D 20, 31

The verb dé 'to be' in clauses with marked contrast

a) in impersonal clauses (6.223)

If the NP<sup>c</sup> constituent of an impersonal clause is in marked contrast then the verbal group of the clause is omitted.

Example:

with unmarked contrast	óde é'fá	'It is a dog.'
	it-is dog	
with marked contrast	èfá dó	'It is a <u>dog</u> .'
	dog it-is	

b) in copulative clauses (6.222)

If the NP<sup>C</sup> constituent of a copulative clause is in marked contrast, it occurs immediately following the NP<sup>S</sup> and the verbal group of the clause is omitted.

**Example:**     with unmarked contrast      kĕ       ode           ó'vá:nón̥  
     he       he-is       chief  
     NP<sup>S</sup>   VG           NP<sup>C</sup>

'He is the chief.'

with NP <sup>C</sup>	in marked contrast	ké'	ová:nóñ' wó
		he	chief it-is
		NP <sup>S</sup>	NP <sup>c</sup> /contrast e-p
			'He is the chief.'

with NP <sup>s</sup> in marked contrast	kè wɔ	óde	òvá:nòŋ
	he it-is	he-is	chief
	NP <sup>s</sup> /contrast		
	e-p	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>
			'It is he who is chief.'

### 6.43 Explicit emphasis

The +explicit-emphasis feature is realized by the 'redundant' presence of an item. It is here illustrated first in reference to the nominal phrase in subject relation.

The presence of a nominal phrase in subject relation in a clause is determined by the following rule:

Within the 'figure' sequence of a discourse (that is, excluding relative clauses and certain clauses in subordinate or hypotactic relation), a nominal phrase in subject relation is present in the non-imperative clause if the subject referent of that clause is not the same as the subject referent of the preceding clause.

If a nominal phrase in subject relation is present when there is no change of reference it has emphatic meaning, bringing the subject referent into increased prominence in the discourse. Taber (1966 p. 85) suggests that such "emphasis" could be considered in relation to the "figure-ground" contrasts in discourse:

"...one would suspect that specific marks of emphasis would represent a kind of plus or additive factor to figure-ground contrasts already existing in the language. Such characterizations might serve as a tentative definition of the notion 'emphasis'."

An example of explicit emphasis of the subject referent occurs in text D 28-30 where bé anòŋ àfà and ìvà pè anòŋ àfà have the same referent. Also in text C 18. An item which is explicitly emphasized is also very commonly in focus (6.41) as in both these examples.

Modifications of the above rule apply in utterances containing direct quotations. Following a direct quotation a change of subject referent is often assumed without the overt presence of an NP<sup>S</sup>.

The selection of the +explicit-emphasis feature in conjunction with the imperative mood feature (6.11) is realized by the presence of a nominal phrase in vocative relation in the clause, the nucleus of the nominal phrase always being a 2nd person pronoun, ko 'you singular' or bona 'you plural'. For an example see example 65. The vocative relation is discussed in section 4.215.

Items in complement relation may also be emphasized through the 'redundant' presence of an explicit NP<sup>C</sup>. However this is less common. A clause usually shares the complement reference of a preceding clause only if the referent has the same transitivity role in both clauses.

Referents may also be emphasized through the presence of a free pronoun (8.11) either 'redundantly' as described above, or replacing a bound pronoun. A further means of emphasis is reduplication, either in the nominal phrase (8.31) or verbal group (7.3).

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE VERBAL GROUP

#### 7.0 Introduction

The function of the verbal group as a constituent of the clause has been described in chapter six. The verbal group functioning in the nuclear clause is the point of origin of the system network given in section 7.04. Modifications relevant to the verbal group functioning in subordinate, relative or preliminary clauses have already been described in section 6.18 and 6.19.

The constituents of the verbal group comprise:

- verb-root
- primary and secondary auxiliary-verb-root
- person prefix
- tense marker
- tense suffix
- bound pronoun-root
- juncture prefix

#### 7.01 Basic and non-basic forms of the verb-root

Every verbal group has a verb-root as one of its constituents. The grammatical unit verb-root is congruent with the phonological unit radical:verbal syllable-piece (2.22). Every verb-root therefore has one of the following CV-structures:

closed	CVC	eg. bà:n	'to tie (yams)'
extended:central	CVCa	sòŋa	'to know'
extended:non-central	CVCə/ɛ	pyĩɛ	'to arrive'
open	CV	ɔf	'to eat'

Verb-roots of the CVC and CVCa phonological structures have a basic and non-basic form. The selection of the basic or non-basic form of the verb-root is part of the realization of certain features of the verbal group.

The basic form CVC corresponds to the non-basic form CVCɔ/ɛ  
CVCa CVC

Verb-Roots of the basic form CVCɔ/ɛ or CV remain constant.

For example, the positive/indicative:future feature is realized partially through the selection of the basic form of the verb-root (7.15121) while the negative/indicative:past feature is realized partially through the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root (7.1522):

positive/indicative:future		negative/indicative:past	
m-ó-bâ:n	'he will tie	k-ó-bâ:né'	'he didn't tie'
m-ó-sónà	'he will know'	k-ó-sǒ̀'	'he didn't know'
m-ó-pyírè	'he will arrive'	k-ó-pyíré'	'he didn't arrive'
m-ó-cí	'he will eat'	k-ó-cí'	'he didn't eat'

## 7.02 Primary and secondary auxiliary-verb-roots

Primary auxiliary-verb-roots comprise:

bíra	'to do something again, to do something repeatedly'	7.211
dè	'to do something habitually, to do something next'	7.212
téra	'to do something instead'	7.213
kwú	'to come to do something'	7.221
kíkèn	'to do something early'	7.222
kènáká	'to do something despite...'	7.222

They have the following properties in common:

i. Except for kíkèn and kènáká (which are probably historically contracted forms) auxiliary-verb-roots have the same phonological shape as a verb-root (7.01). The form dè although never occurring unelided with a final vowel, behaves in elided patterns as a CV verb-root with low tone. Preceding a consonant it is followed by tone-bearing open transition.



ii. When a feature of the verbal group is realized by the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root, if one or more auxiliary-verb-roots are present in the verbal group, then the first occurs in the non-basic form, subsequent auxiliary-verb-roots and the main verb-root occur in the basic form. The only exception to this rule is that when a verbal group functions in a preliminary clause (6.19) all auxiliary-verb-roots and the main verb-root occur in the non-basic form.

When a feature of the verbal group is realized by the selection of the basic form of the verb-root, all auxiliary-verb-roots and the main verb-root occur in the basic form.

iii. When a feature is realized by the selection of a grammatical tone pattern other than III or VI (3.31 3.34) then the tone pattern is manifested on the first auxiliary-verb-root or main verb-root which occurs in the verbal group. Subsequent auxiliary- or main verb-roots have tone pattern I.

When a feature is realized by the selection of tone pattern III or VI, this tone pattern is manifested on each auxiliary-verb-root and on the main verb-root.

Tone patterns in conjunction with the auxiliary-verb-root kwú are however, distinct, and are described in section 7.221.

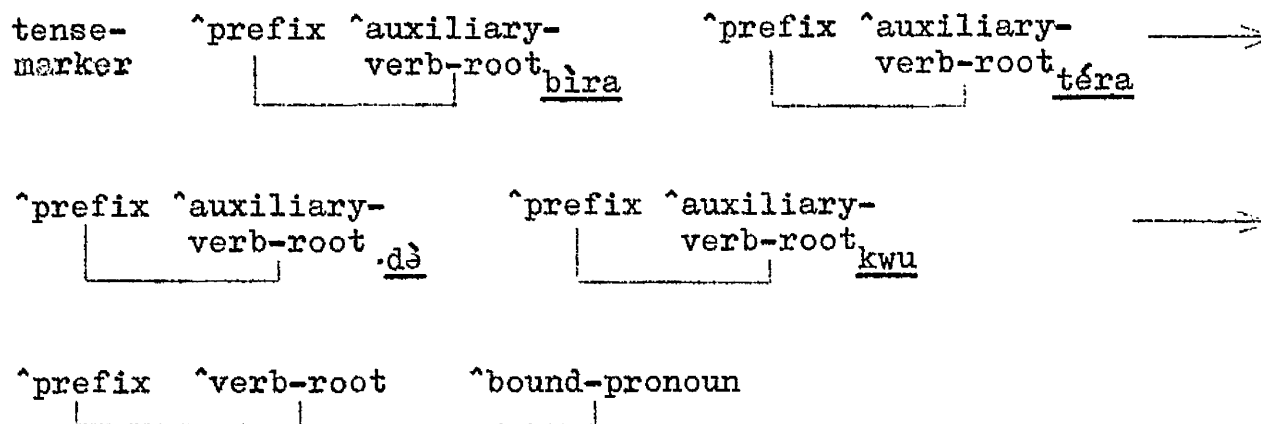
iv. The presence of primary auxiliary-verb-roots is not specified through the mood features of the clause.

Secondary auxiliary-verb-roots comprise: nína 'to be'  
túma 'to reach'

Both of these roots may also function as main verbs. The presence of secondary auxiliary-verb-roots, and also their form and the accompanying tone pattern, is determined through the realization of VG features specified through the mood features of the clause (7.14 7.16 7.1521).

7.03 The skeleton structure of the verbal group, illustrated in the positive/indicative:non-perfect form, with the selection of marked features in the additive, determinative, alternative,

approach, and pronoun-complement systems, is as follows:



There is a cline in the degree of independence of the primary auxiliary-verb-roots. This is one of the reasons for not distinguishing a formal word rank below the verbal group.

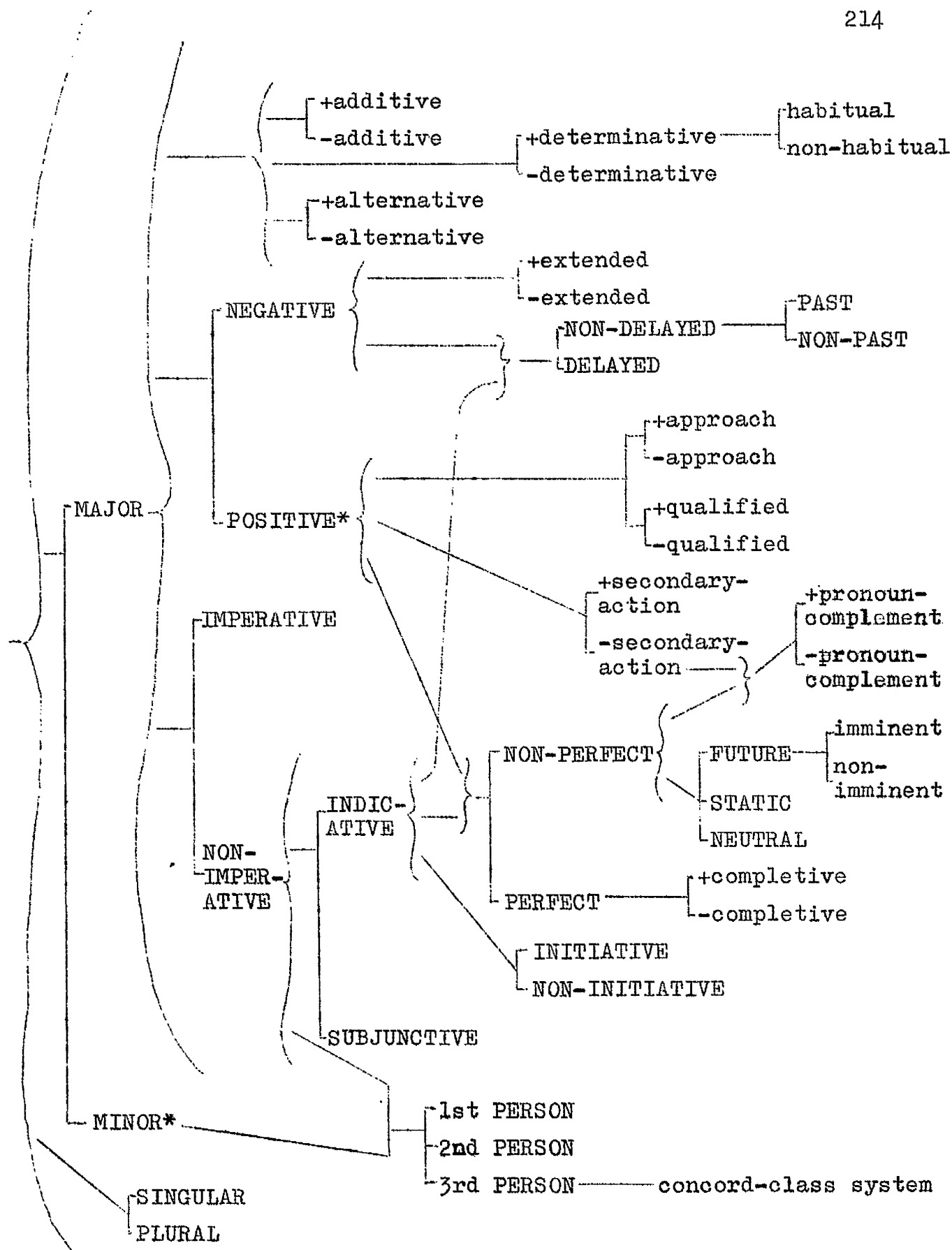
dè is phonologically bound to the item it precedes. It never occurs in an unelided form.

bira and téra may occur unelided but never function independently as the nucleus of a verbal group.

kwú may function independently as the nucleus of a verbal group. It therefore has a dual class membership, as an auxiliary-verb-root and as a main-verb-root. When functioning as an auxiliary-verb-root it has distinctive tone patterns (7.221). It has a high frequency of occurrence as an auxiliary-verb-root, preceding a main verb-root and having very low lexical content.

Although no formal word rank is postulated, there are certain immediate constituent relations which can be distinguished within the verbal group, particularly that of a prefix and the following auxiliary-verb-root or verb-root. These constituent groupings are bracketed on the above diagram and are referred to as the verb (in final position, being the nucleus of the VG) and auxiliaries.

7.04 The verbal group is the point of origin of the system network shown on the following page. In this diagram features whose selection is specified through the mood features of the clause are represented in capital letters.



Except when perfect, +secondary-action or negative/subjunctive features are selected, the major verbal group is also specified as + or - emphatic-action (7.3).

## 7.1 Features whose selection is specified through the mood features of the clause

Examples throughout this section are given for the verbs sòŋa 'to know' or bà:n 'to tie (yams)'. Textual examples of all features will be found in the corresponding sections of the description of the clause (6.1).

Grammatical tone patterns of the verbal group are described in 3.31.

The verbal group is primarily specified as:

- a) singular or plural      These features will be described in 7.17.
- b) major or minor          The minor feature is described in 7.16  
and the major feature in 7.11-7.15.

The major verbal group is further specified as either positive or negative, and either imperative or non-imperative.

7.11 The imperative feature (cf. 6.11) is realized by:

- i. the selection of the basic form of the verb-root
- ii. when a clitic (either the plural marker M- (6.17) or a negative tense marker) precedes the verb-root, by the presence of the semantically neutral prefix -a- (a juncture vowel with no meaning).

The selection of both positive and imperative features is further realized by the selection of grammatical tone pattern VI.

eg. bà:n é'cén      'tie yams!'

The selection of both negative and imperative features is further realized by:

- i. the selection of grammatical tone pattern IV
- ii. the presence of the negative marker k- (cf. also 7.1522) preceding the verb-root, or, if other features selected determine the presence of an auxiliary-verb-root, preceding the first

auxiliary-verb-root. The tonal properties of the clitic k- are described in 3.562.

eg.      ècén    k-à-bá:n      'don't tie yams!'

7.12    The non-imperative verbal group, and also the minor verbal group (7.16) is further specified as either 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person. Person features are realized by the presence of a prefix of the appropriate person and, in the case of 3rd person, concord-class, preceding the verb-root and preceding any auxiliary-verb-root whose presence may be determined through other features selected.

Person prefixes comprise:

	1st	2nd	3rd*
singular	N-	a-	o-/ɔ-
plural	o-/ɔ-	a-	

\*3rd person prefixes given above represent concord class 1/2. The full range of concord classes is described in chapter 10.

eg.      ñ-sòŋǎ    'I know'      à-sòŋǎ    'you know'      ò-sòŋǎ    'he knows'  
          (m)-ó-sòŋǎ    'we know'      (m)-á-sòŋǎ    'they, you (plu.) know'

7.13    The selection of both positive and non-imperative:subjunctive features (6.13) is realized by:

- i. the selection of the basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern III

eg.    ó-bá:n    ècén    'he should tie yams'

7.14    The selection of both negative and non-imperative:subjunctive features (6.14) is realized by:

- i. the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern V on the verb
- iii. the presence of the secondary auxiliary-verb-root níngá 'to be' in non-basic form and accompanied by tone pattern II.

When an item in complement or adjunct relation occurs in the clause, the verbal group is discontinuous (6.14).

eg. ó-nín ècén ò-bà:né' 'he shouldn't tie yams'

7.15 The non-imperative:indicative feature is further specified as initiative or non-initiative. As in the case of the clause features (6.15) the initiative and non-initiative verbal groups are structurally contrastive only when neutral tense is further selected (7.15123).

7.151 If both positive and indicative features are selected, then the verbal group is specified as either perfect or non-perfect.

7.1511 The perfect feature (cf. 6.1511) is realized by:

- i. the selection of grammatical tone pattern I
- ii. the presence of the perfect suffix -à. Since this suffix replaces any root final vowel the distinction between basic and non-basic forms of the verb-root is irrelevant.

The perfect verbal group is further specified as either + or -completive. This selection is not specified through the mood features of the clause. The +completive feature is realized by the presence of the completive suffix -kpó following the perfect suffix. Semantically, this emphasizes the fact that the action is finished and completed.

[illegible]

7.1512 The non-perfect feature (cf. 6.1512) is specified as future, static or neutral.

7.15121 The future feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of the basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern III

The future feature is further specified as either imminent or non-imminent. This selection is not specified through the mood features of the clause.

The imminent feature is realized by the presence of the tense marker mén'-, a clitic prefixed to the first auxiliary or to the verb (if no auxiliary is present), having the meaning 'about to do something'.

The non-imminent feature is realized by the presence of the tense marker m- prefixed to the first auxiliary or to the verb, having the meaning 'will do something'.

Both tense markers are followed by open transition when occurring preceding a syllabic nasal.

eg. future:imminent mén'-ó-bá:n ècên 'he is about to tie yams'

future:non-imminent m-ó-bá:n ècên 'he will tie yams'

mə-m'-má:n ècên 'I shall tie yams'

7.15122 The static feature (cf. 6.15122) is realized by

- i. the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern II
- iii. the presence of the tense marker n- preceding the first auxiliary or the verb.

eg. n-ó-bá:ne ècên 'he ties yams'

7.15123 The neutral feature (cf. 6.15123), selected together with the initiative feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of grammatical tone pattern IV
- ii. the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root

eg. ó-bá:ne é'cên 'he ties yams'

The neutral feature selected with the non-initiative feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of grammatical tone pattern I
- ii. the selection of the basic form of the verb-root

eg. ò-bà:n ècên 'he ties yams'

7.152 If both negative and indicative are selected, then the verbal group is further specified as delayed or non-delayed.

7.1521 The delayed feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of tone pattern IV on the verb
- ii. the presence of the perfect suffix -a (cf. also 7.1511), replacing any final vowel of the verb-root
- iii. the presence of the secondary auxiliary-verb-root tùma accompanied by grammatical tone pattern I

The prefix of the verb remains high tone despite the presence of a preceding low tone.

eg. ècên ò-tùma ó-bá:n-á' 'he hasn't yet tied the yams'

7.1522 The non-delayed:past feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern V
- iii. the presence of the tense marker k-, a clitic prefixed to the first auxiliary which occurs in the VG, or, if no auxiliary is present, to the verb. Associated tone patterns are described in 3.562.



eg. ècén' k-ó-bà:né' 'he didn't tie yams'

7.1523 The non-delayed:non-past feature is realized by:

- i. the selection of the basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern IV
- iii. the presence of the tense marker m-, a clitic prefixed to the first auxiliary of the VG, or to the verb if no auxiliary is present, with accompanying tone pattern described in 3.562.

eg. ècén m-ò-bá:n 'he won't tie yams'

7.16 The minor feature of the verbal group (cf. 6.16) is realized by:

- i. the selection of the non-basic form of the verb-root
- ii. the presence of the secondary auxiliary-verb-root níŋa 'to be' in the non-basic form
- iii. the selection of grammatical tone pattern II on both the auxiliary and the verb

The minor verbal group is always discontinuous (6.16). It always has the feature positive. It is not selected in conjunction with any marked feature.

eg. ó-nín' ma ó-bá:ne ècén 'he is here tying yams'

7.17 The selection of the singular or plural number features (6.17) is realized simply by selection from the singular or plural subclass of person and concord-class prefixes respectively (7.12) at every point at which the prefix occurs. There is no contrast between the singular and plural forms of the imperative verbal group except for the presence of the semantically neutral juncture prefix -a- preceding the verb-root or the auxiliary-verb-root, when preceded by the plural clitic M- (7.11). The plural clitic M- itself functions in the structure of the clause (6.17).

## 7.2 Other features of the major verbal group

### 7.21 The additive, determinative and alternative features

Every major verbal group is further specified as  
+ or -additive, + or -determinative, and + or -alternative.

7.211 The +additive feature is realized by the presence of the primary auxiliary-verb-root (7.02) bìra. This may have two alternative meanings according to the context in which it is used. It may mean 'to do something again', implying that the action has already been done at least once, or it may mean 'to do something in addition to some other action'. It therefore signifies multiple action, either of the same or different actions. It may also signify continuous action.

Examples:

222. ápóná n-n-á-bír à-gá:ṛé' kí'dá:m  
court- it-again it-hard very  
case

'The court-case continues to be very difficult'  
(positive/indicative:static 7.15122)

223. k-ó-bìra ò-kw-á' 'He has returned again.'  
he-again he-has-returned  
(positive/indicative:perfect 7.1511)

224. m-ékwèr k-á-bìr á'-sé' 'They didn't see the tortoise  
tortoise they-again they-see any more.'  
not  
(negative/indicative:past 7.1522)

225. kò bìrà ṣákà 'You unload as well!'  
you also unload  
(positive/imperative 7.11)

See also text C 18, 21-26, D 27 also examples 231, 234, 242,  
246.

7.212 The +determinative feature is specified as habitual or non-habitual.

The habitual feature is realized by the presence of the primary auxiliary-verb-root dè (7.02) and signifies habitual or continuous action.

The non-habitual feature is realized by the presence of the primary auxiliary-verb-root dè and has weak lexical meaning. It may be translated 'to go and do something'. In one sub-dialect of Adun a variant form of the auxiliary-verb-root occurs with an initial voiceless consonant. In this sub-dialect there is therefore a distinction between dè with habitual meaning, and tè with non-habitual meaning. The latter form may have some historical connection with the verb-root tà 'to go'.

Under certain conditions there is also a tonal contrast between the forms of the habitual and non-habitual VG. If the actual tone of the main verb-root is low (this is determined by the grammatical tone pattern selected), then in the non-habitual form a high tone influence occurs on any vowel immediately following the last consonant of the verb-root. This may be illustrated from two clauses in text D. D 2 illustrates the habitual form of the VG:

226.            kw   ó-àd   ò-pyèm            ò-ṭò:k  
                  who he-habitually-begs    thing

'(a blind man) who used to beg, who was a beggar'

D 8 illustrates the non-habitual form:

227.            ò-d ò-pyèm            ɛ'ṭàṭà    w-àns    ó-cáṣ:k  
                  he-went-begged        father one        food

'he went and begged        a certain father for food (on one given day, on a particular occasion)'

Further examples:

a) with habitual feature

228. ó-d ó-ròr àkpùkà p ékwòr  
he-habitually-seeks money of tortoise

'He is still looking for the tortoise's money.'

(positive/indicative: {initiative/neutral})  
 7.15123

229. gà:ré k-ó-d ò-cí  
 garri he-doesn't-eat

'He doesn't eat garri.'

(negative/indicative: past 7.1522)

230. dǎ kéré 'Watch out! Be on the look out!'  
watch (positive/imperative 7.11)

b) with non-habitual feature

231. m-é-bíra è-d é-kpàn m'bó:k  
 he-will-also he-then-clap hands

'He also will then clap his hands.'

(positive/indicative: future 7.15121  
 with +additive 7.211)

For further examples see text B 3, 21 C 7 (habitual) and  
 A 6 B 27 D 21 D 27 (non-habitual).

7.213 The +alternative feature is realized by the presence of the primary auxiliary-verb-root téra and has two possible, related, meanings depending on the context in which it is used. It may mean that the action is being done instead of, in place of, some other (expected) action, or that the person who is doing the action is acting in place of someone else.

The +alternative feature therefore implies a contrast between two actions. It quite commonly occurs in two related clauses making this contrast explicit, either in the subordinate and nuclear clause of a sentence, as in example 232 below, or in the two nuclear clauses of a sentence complex.

Examples:

232. òtù kwé' m-ó-téra ó-bén òyòk bé [ mèkəm  
 instead he-will-in-place he-say friend that give-me  
 á'fláuè ]/ ò-téra ó-ṭá mákpá:r / ò-tóka ó'kórò....  
 flowers he-instead he-went straight he-took knife

'Instead of saying to his friend "Give me the flowers," he went instead straight away and took a knife....'

For a further example see text D 30.

## 7.22 The approach and qualified features

All positive, major, verbal groups are specified as either + or -approach, or + or -qualified.

7.221 The +approach feature is realized by the presence of the primary auxiliary-verb-root kwí (7.02 7.03) 'to come'. When functioning as an auxiliary this root has very little lexical meaning and has a high frequency of occurrence.

As in other verbal groups in which a primary auxiliary is present, distinctive tone patterns are generally manifested on the auxiliary (7.02). Following the auxiliary kwu the main verb-root has grammatical tone pattern I as for a verb-root with inherent high tone (3.31) irrespective of whether the inherent tone of the verb-root is actually high or low.

Example:

233. m-á'-kwu á-pyíré ña ó'tér 'They came and reached the  
 plu.they-come they-reach to compound<sup>compound</sup>  
pyíre 'to arrive' has inherent I  
 tone.

234.    ɲ-k-à-bira                    à-kwu            á'-túb-á'  
         plu.they-have-again    they-come    they-till

'They have again come and tilled.'

(positive/indicative:perfect with +additive)

For further examples see text A 11 B 3, 23 C 6, 7, 27 D 11.

7.222 The +qualified feature is realized by the presence of  
one of the primary auxiliary-verb-roots kíkèn 'to do something  
first, early'  
kènáká 'to do something  
despite something'

These auxiliaries occur following any other primary auxiliaries which may be present in the VG, immediately preceding the verb.

Examples:

235. ódě m-á'-kíkèn à-déb 'if you buy early...'  
if plu.you-early you-buy

236. òtò:k àsán /// n-de ñ-kéná'ká m-mòm èmòñ  
thing is-not I-am-nevertheless-crying voice

'There is nothing the matter, but I am just crying.'

For further examples see text A 10 D 9.

7.23 All positive, major, verbal groups are specified as + or -secondary-action.

The +secondary-action feature is realized by:

i. the selection of one of the following verb-roots as the main verb-root:

tòma	'to begin'	cèra	'to agree'	yìn	'to go for'
tíka	'to stop'	kpó	'to be able'	kwú	'to come'
rík	'to remain'	kèma	'to succeed'		

ii. the presence of a gerundive verb. The gerundive verb has the structure:

- a. a prefix o-/ɔ- with low tone
- b. a verb-root (basic form) with reduplication of the initial consonant. Open transition with low tone occurs between the reduplicated consonants. High tone occurs on all other syllables of the root.

When the transitivity features of the clause specify the selection of a certain class of verb-root, this selection is made in the gerundive verb of a secondary-action VG. Mood features are realized in the main verb of the VG.

In non-perfect clauses (6.1512) the gerundive verb occurs following any items in complement or adjunct relation. In perfect clauses (6.1511) it occurs immediately following the main verb.

Examples:

237. tíka émòŋ ò-èèbóm 'Stop crying!'  
stop voice to-cry (positive/imperative)
238. n-ó-rík òci ó+ḡḡfu-ê 'There remains only the  
it-remains trees to-cut to cut the trees.'  
 (positive/indicative:static)
239. ò-sén ka ókím ò-sèsé 'I went to see the masque.'  
I-went to masque to-see (positive/indicative:neutral)
240. m-ò-kpo étèn ndo ó'tó:ká  
we-should-be-able animal that to-carry

'We should be able to carry the animal.' (positive/subjunctive)

Note: the verb-root kpó 'to be able' is quite commonly followed by a gerundive verb without reduplication of the initial consonant.

See also text A 8.

7.24 All negative verbal clauses are specified as either + or -extended.

The +extended feature is realized by:

i. the selection of one of the following verb-roots (there may possibly be others, these are certainly the most common) as main verb:

cèra 'to agree'      kpó 'to be able'

ii. the presence of an extension verb, having the form person prefix (in concord with the main verb) followed by a verb-root, carrying grammatical tone pattern I. Any transitivity selections specified through the clause (6.2) are realized in this extension verb. The extension verb follows the main verb.

Examples:

241. m-étèn      ndó      k-á-kpo      à-tó:ká'  
      plu.animal that      they-cannot they-carry

'They can't carry that animal.' (negative/indicative:past)

242. ètèn      k-ó-bìr      ó-cèra      ò-fò  
      animal      he-not-again he-agree he-kill

'He did not again succeed in killing an animal.'

(negative/indicative:past with +additive)

243. òwònító:m      éwó:ɲkwókà      k-ó-cèr      ó'-yéná'  
      farm-work      rest      it-does<sup>not</sup>-agree      it-have

'lit. farm work does not agree to have a rest, farm work never ceases.'

(negative/indicative:past)



7.25 If both the features -secondary-action and non-perfect are selected, then the verbal group is further specified as either + or -pronoun-complement.

The presence of any item in complement relation in the clause is specified through the transitivity features of the clause (6.2). The selection between a nominal phrase and a bound pronoun is specified through the textual component of the language. This selection is not discussed in detail in this description but a brief comment is given in 6.43.

The reason for the restricted entry condition to the system + or -pronoun-complement, is that verbal groups with other features occur in clause structures in which the linear order determined through the mood features (6.1) is such that items in complement relation precede the verbal group. If the verbal group is discontinuous, then 'precede the verbal group' is further detailed as 'precede the main verb or any gerundive verb in the verbal group'. When items in complement relation precede the verbal group, then, if a pronoun is selected, it is always a free pronoun (8.11). When items in complement relation follow the verbal group, then, if a pronoun is selected, it is a bound pronoun<sub>λ</sub><sup>-root</sup> (with the exception that, if the referent is explicitly emphasized a free pronoun occurs cf. example 249).

The bound pronoun<sub>λ</sub><sup>-root</sup> is congruent with the phonological pronominal syllable-piece (2.23).

The +pronoun-complement feature is realized by the presence of a bound pronoun<sub>λ</sub><sup>-root</sup> suffixed to the main verb. The paradigm below illustrates the selection of +pronoun-complement with the positive /imperative form of the verb nán 'to give'.

nánə-m̃	'give me'	náné-mìnà	'give us'
nán-ò	'give you'	náné-bòṇà	'give you (plural)'
nán-è	'give him'	náné-bè	'give them'

### 7.3 Emphatic-action (cf.6.43)

The verbal group is specified as + or -emphatic-action.

The +emphatic-action feature is not selected in conjunction with the perfect feature, or with any features whose realization results in a discontinuous structure of the verbal group. It is therefore not selected in conjunction with the features minor, +secondary-action or negative/subjunctive.

If selected in conjunction with the positive feature, the emphatic-action feature is realized by the reduplication of the verb-root, preceded by the prefix o-/ɔ- and accompanied by grammatical tone pattern I. This reduplicated verb occurs following the other constituents of the VG and may be separated from them by any items which occur in complement relation in the clause. When not so separated it is phonologically bound to the main verb.

Examples:

244. kè wɔ ó'yén òtér ŋwo ó'-yéná'  
       he it-is he-has compound that he-has

'It is he who possesses that compound.'

245. ʒér-ó'-ʒér 'Hurry, hurry'  
       hurry hurry

If selected in conjunction with the negative feature, the emphatic-action feature is realized by the presence of the gerundive form of the verb (7.23), reduplicating the main-verb-root, occurring immediately preceding the other constituents of the VG.

246. ò-tètíká kə-ń'-tík /// ka ífór ò-jèjíf kə-ń-bír ń-jíf  
       stopping I-didn't-stop in body good I-also-not I-good

'I never stopped. I was also not feeling at all good physically.'

See also example 91.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE NOMINAL PHRASE

#### 8.0 Introduction

The nominal phrase functions as a constituent of the clause in subject, complement, adjunct and vocative relation, its presence being specified through the mood, transitivity and theme features of the clause (6.0). It also functions as a constituent of the sentence in temporal (5.63) and nuclear (5.131) relation (in the latter function it occurs as a constituent of the non-clausal sentence), and of the utterance in vocative relation (4.215). It may also function recursively as a constituent of a nominal phrase complex (8.8) or in a relative extension (8.61), or be down ranked to function within the structure of another nominal phrase (8.522).

#### 8.01 Skeleton structure

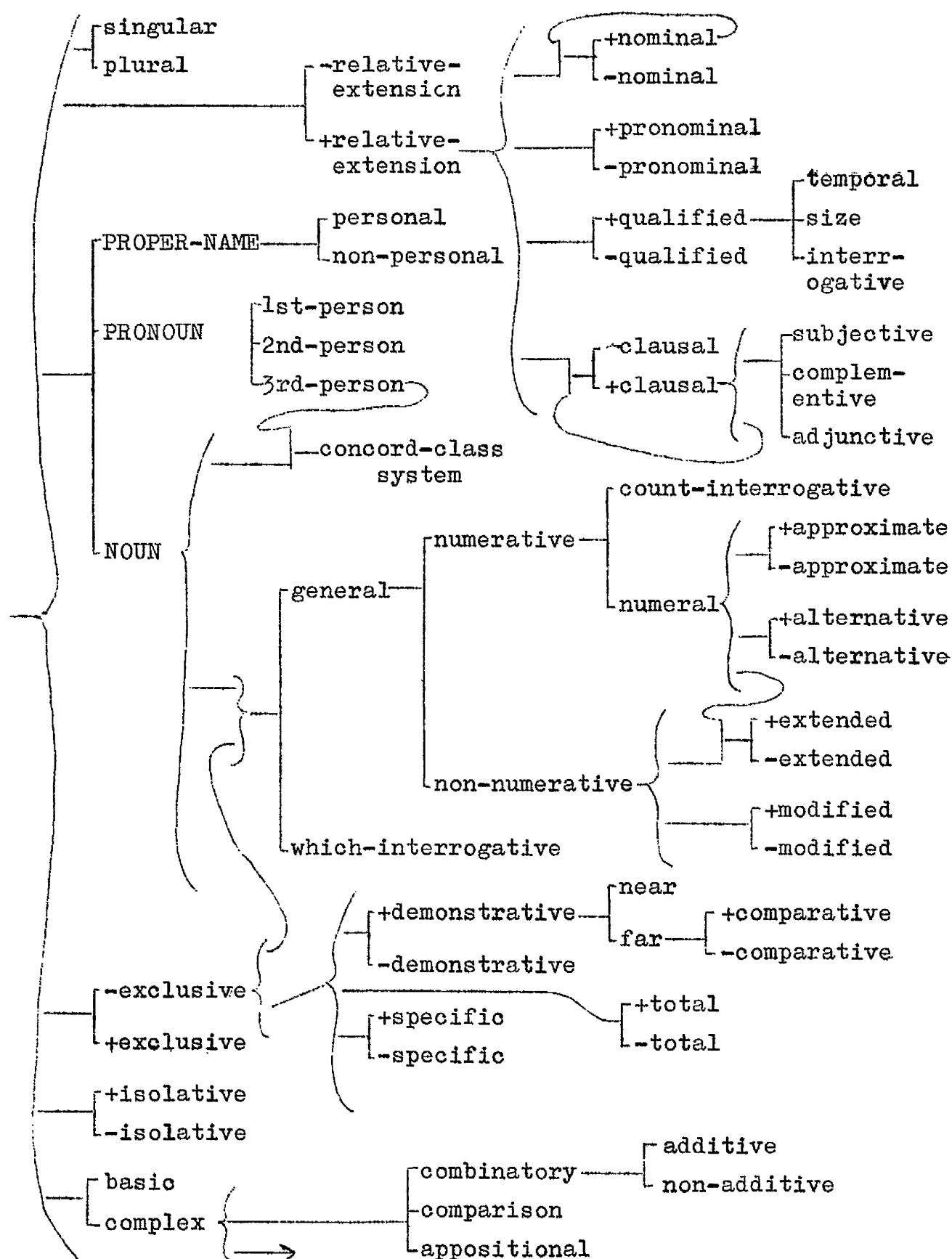
The constituents of the basic nominal phrase comprise:

- a) in nuclear relation: pronoun, noun or proper-name (8.1)  
Items in nuclear relation occur in initial position in the NP.
- b) in modifying relation: demonstrative (8.41), adverb mfn:à (8.52321), numeral (8.5232), specific (8.42), adjective (8.521) total adverb (8.43), isolative adverb (8.32), down ranked NP (8.522, 8.52323)

With the co-occurrence restrictions determined through the system network (8.02), items in modifying relation occur in linear position in relation to each other in the order in which they are listed above. Minor variations of order are noted where appropriate.

- c) syntactic markers: the interrogative particles bɔŋ- 'which' (8.51); and -pən 'how many' (8.5231).

8.02 The nominal phrase is the point of origin of the following network:



The presence of any constituent in a given nominal phrase is determined through the selection of features from the above system network. It is rare for more than three marked features to be selected in any nominal phrase.

The basic nominal phrase is described in sections 8.1-8.5. The relative extension is described in 8.6 and the nominal phrase complex in 8.8. Modifications of the nominal phrase when functioning in adjunct/locative relation (6.33) are described in 8.7.

### 8.1 The nucleus of the nominal phrase

Every basic nominal phrase is primarily specified as either pronoun, proper-name or noun. The selection from this system determines the item functioning as nucleus of the nominal phrase. (Under certain conditions specified through the textual component the nuclear constituent of the NP may be omitted. Such truncated nominal phrases are not included in this description).

8.11 The selection of the pronoun feature is realized by the presence of a free pronoun in nuclear relation. Free pronouns comprise:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1st person	k-a:- <u>m</u>	<u>mina</u>
2nd person	k- <u>o</u>	<u>bona</u>
3rd person	k- <u>e</u>	b- <u>e</u>

The free pronoun is congruent with the pronominal word-piece (2.33). It consists of a pronoun-root (underlined above). In the singular and 3rd person plural forms this is preceded by the concord element B (cf. chapter 10). The above sample illustrates the selection of concord-class 1/2. The .vowel a: in the 1st person singular form is a juncture vowel. The 3rd person plural form is irregular in that in the free pronoun the initial consonant shows concord while in the bound pronoun (7.25 8.62) this consonant is invariable, forming a part of the pronoun-root.

Examples:

248.    ð-t̪ð:k       k-á:-m       m̩ɔʃɪ               'Nothing will hurt me.'  
          thing       me               it-will-not-do  
                       pronoun

- [illegible]

'I will help you as you helped me.'

8.12 The proper-name feature is realized by the presence of a proper-name, which may be either personal, denoting a particular person or group of people, or non-personal, generally denoting a place.

Indigenous personal names usually have the same phonological shape as a basic noun and have concord agreement as for a noun of concord-class 1/2. Personal names may have two parts, the first being the particular name of an individual, the second the particular name of his father (eg. 250). Many personal names are also nouns, eg. *épyá* Ephya ('market' born on market day)

*èbór* Ebor ('rubbish' a name given when an older child has died to deceive the spirits that this child is worthless)

Examples:

250. k-à:-m ñkpén óyòm óbyà  
 I I-am-called Oyom Obya  
proper-name personal  
 'I am called Oyom Obya (Oyom son of Obya).'



8.13 The noun feature is realized by the presence of a noun in nuclear relation. The structure of the noun is described in 9.13. For examples see examples 253-55, 258-61 etc.

## 8.2 Person, Concord-class and Number

The pronoun feature is further specified as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, these features being realized by the selection of the appropriate pronoun (8.11).

The 3rd person pronoun, and the noun are further specified as to concord-class (see chapter 10). The concord-class feature of the 3rd person pronoun is determined by the concord-class of the noun which it represents. 1st and 2nd person pronouns and personal proper-names are always specified as concord-class 1/2.

All nominal phrases are also specified as singular or plural, these features being realized by the selection of the appropriate sub-class of pronoun, noun or proper-name in the nucleus.

The concord-class and number selection made in the nucleus determines that the same selection is made at every point in the structure of the nominal phrase that these features are relevant, specifically in the numeral, adverb, and demonstrative constituents and in the relative extension.

## 8.3 The isolative and exclusive features

Every basic nominal phrase is specified as either + or -exclusive and either + or -isolative.

8.31 The +exclusive feature has the meaning 'this substance to the exclusion of any other, very emphatic'. It is realized by the reduplication of the nuclear constituent of the NP.

Examples:

252. òvǎ:nǝŋ / k-é' ʔk-é' asǎŋ òyénè / éfóná dǝ é'yén  
 chief he he is-not he-has- family it-is it-has  
 it  
 pronoun(reduplicated)

'The chief, it isn't he only who has it, it is the family group who has it.'

253. òcèkà / k-ě ode á'vá:kím /// à-vá:r á'vá:r bə á'yénè  
Ocheka it it-is chief- chiefs chiefs it-is they-have-masque it  
noun(reduplicated)

'Ocheka, it is a chief's masque. It is the chiefs only who have it.'

254. ɪpànbɛ́ á'rɔ́b mápyír /// òrík á'-jínórɛ à-jínôn  
 women they-ran all it- men men  
 remain noun(reduplicated)

'The women all ran away. Only the men remained.'

255.    óbe               òbe               á-tó:ŋ    á-tó:ŋ  
         pear-tree   it-stood   leaves   leayes  
   noun(reduplicated)

'The pear tree stood there with only leaves (no fruit).'

See also text B 3, 8, 9.

8.32 The +isolative is realized by the presence of the <sup>isolative</sup>adverb (9.123) mâncéné 'alone'. It is very commonly selected in conjunction with the +exclusive feature but very seldom with any other marked feature.

Examples:

256. ódé k-á:-m k-à:-m mǎncéné 'It is I alone.'  
 it-is I I only  
 pronoun(redup.) isolative

257. òtíma vot mín:à wàné k-é k-è mǎncéné

I-took vote about one it it alone

pronoun isolative  
(reduplicated)

NP in apposition  
8.83

'I took one vote, just one single, solitary one.'

8.4 If the -exclusive feature is selected then the nominal phrase is further specified as + or -demonstrative, + or -specific, and + or -total.

8.41 The selection of the +demonstrative feature is determined through the textual component. This feature is selected under one of the following conditions:

i. if the referent of the nuclear noun has already been mentioned in the discourse. The selection of the -demonstrative feature in conjunction with a noun nucleus indicates a new referent. For example, in text A that the referent of ònòṅ 'person' in line 5 is the same as that of ìkwàṅòṅ 'woman' in line 7 is shown by the presence of a demonstrative following ìkwàṅòṅ. The omission of this demonstrative would have signalled the introduction of a new character.

ii. if the referent of the nuclear noun is defined in an accompanying relative extension (8.6).

Example:

258.	ka	í-có'	ṅ-w-ó	kwé	máyèré'	bé	1924
	in	year	that	which	they-call		1924
		noun	demonstrative	relative-	clause		
				marker			

'in that year which they call 1924'

259.	ògbé	ṅ-w-ó	kwé	ń'nín	mà
	time	that	which	I-am	here
	noun	demonstrative	relative-	clause	
			marker		

'at that time when I am here'

iii. if the +demonstrative feature is selected in conjunction with a pronoun or proper-name nucleus it signals explicit clarification. 'that very same...'.  
 \_\_\_\_\_

The +demonstrative:far feature is realized by the presence of a demonstrative word having the structure:

N-    ^concord-element-B    ^demonstrative-root  
               -6

The nasal prefix is always homorganic with the following consonant.

eg.            ò-nòŋ      r<sub>1</sub>-w-ó      'that person' (concord set 1)  
                 à-nòŋ      m-b-ó      'those people' (concord set 2)

In this minimal form it has the meaning 'that, those' denoting something distant.

The further specification of +comparative is realized by the presence of one of the relators ka or sa (6.33) suffixed to the demonstrative root, always carrying low tone.

eg.            ɔ̃-nòŋ      ŋ-w-ó-sà      'the other person'

The comparative feature signals the presence of two or more objects of the same lexical category:

**Example:**

260. ò-yòk òfóna óyìn épyá /ò-yòk ŋ-w-ó-sa òníńá ńà....  
 friend he-went he-went friend other he-stayed there..  
 market

'One friend went off to market, the other friend stayed there...'

See also text C 22-23.

The demonstrative: near feature is realized by the presence of a demonstrative word having the minimal structure described above with the additional presence of the relator ma (6.33) suffixed to the demonstrative root, always carrying low tone. It has the meaning 'this, these' denoting something near at hand. It may also occur in a contracted form:

eg. non-contracted: ɔ̃-nɔ̃ŋ ɲ-w-ó-mà 'this person'  
 contracted: ɔ̃-nɔ̃ŋ ɲ-w-â

8.42 The +specific feature is realized by the presence of the specific word òyéné which has the meaning of identifying some individual particular item.

Examples:

261. ò-bòn òyéné n-w-à kw á-nón m-b-a à-rúk ó'-rúk....  
 town particular this that people these they-live....  
 noun specific demonstrative clause<sup>relative</sup>  
 trative

'This particular town where these people live...'

262. k-ɔ ó'yéné / mēndà óşó yēn  
 you yourself today it-does-you what?  
pronoun specific

'You yourself, how are you today?'

8.43 The +total feature is realized by the presence of the total adverb mápyír meaning 'all, the whole' (cf. also 9.123).

Example:

263. b-è m-b-ò mápyír 'all of them'  
 they those all  
 pronoun demonstrative total

264. òbónm mápyír 'the whole of Ovonum'  
 Ovonum all  
 proper-name total

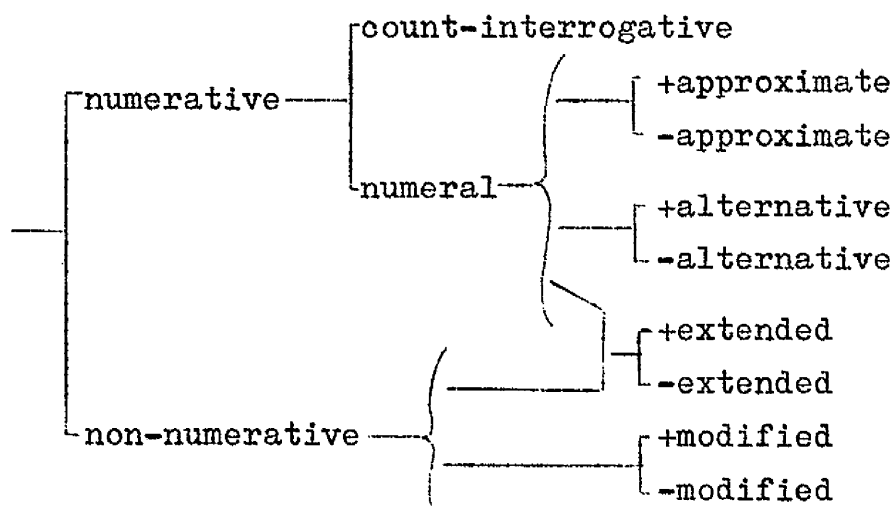
See also examples 278, 287,  
 320.

8.5 If the features noun and -exclusive are both selected then the nominal phrase is further specified as either general or which-interrogative.

8.51 The which-interrogative feature is realized by the presence of the interrogative particle bɔŋ- 'which' or its contracted form bɔ- prefixed to the noun nucleus of the nominal phrase. The function of a nominal phrase with this feature is described in 5.1322. Elision patterns of the particle are described in 2.423. This feature is not commonly selected together with any other marked feature. Example:

265. bɔ-ɔ-bɔn' kw ɔd ɔtə-ɔ 'Which town is he going to?'  
 which town that he-is-going?  
bɔ- noun

8.52 The general feature is specified as:



8.521 The non-numeral:+modified feature is realized by the presence of either an adjective word, or of one of the adverbs ké'búŋ 'whole' or ɔ-bá-kwé 'new' (9.12).

The adjective class comprises:

ɔka ɔkà	'good, true'
ɔdók ɔdók	'another'
kpéná:kpèn	'each, every'
ʂá:bànʂá:b	'many'
ʂá:bádà	
bìròbìrê	'small, few'
mín:à mín:à	'such and such'

## Examples:

266. ñ-tèn bìròbìrê 'a few fish'  
 fish few  
 noun adjective

277. ì-cò kś'búnś 'a whole year' text B 11  
 year whole  
 noun adverb

See also examples 288, 295.

8.522 The +extended feature is realized by the presence of a down ranked nominal phrase, preceded by a relator (6.33) and accompanied by locative tone pattern (3.41), embedded in the nominal phrase. The down ranked NP may be reduplicated for emphasis.

## Examples:

278. òcòrò ñ-kèká' mápyír ma í'-yágbín text B 17  
 he-gathered streams all in world  
noun total rel NP

'He gathered all the streams in the world'

279. òròr ñ-círá'ṛá' ka á-kírá ka á-kírá  
 he-sought medicines in kinds in kinds  
noun rel NP(reduplicated)

'He sought many different kinds of medicine.'

See also example 283 below.

8.523 The numerative feature is further specified as either numeral or count-interrogative.

8.5231 The count-interrogative feature is realized by the presence of the interrogative particle -pán 'how many', preceded by a prefix in concord with the noun-nucleus. This feature is always selected together with the plural feature.

The function of a nominal phrase having this feature is described in 5.1322.

eg.        í-só:m    ì-párj    'how many houses?'

à-nòr      à-ǽr      'how many people?'

8.5232 The numeral feature is realized by the presence of a numeral word. The structure of the numeral word is described in 9.14. It manifests concord with the nuclear noun.

8.52321 The further specification of +approximate is realized by the presence of the adverb mín:à (9.123) immediately preceding the numeral. The adverb modifies the numeral. The meaning of the adverb is rather weak- it makes the numeral less precise.

Example:

280.    à-nòŋ    mìn:a    à-fà    'a couple of people'  
          people    about    two  
          noun    mìn:à    numeral

8.52322 The further specification of +alternative is realized by the presence of up to four numerals in succession, the numerals being separated by a pause.

**Example:**

281. óyén á'vá:r á'-tá:n / à-n:à / à-fà  
 it-has chiefs three four two  
 noun numeral numeral numeral

'It has three, or four, or two chiefs.'

The following idiomatic form should be noted:

màséŋ á-nòŋ á-fa à-fa á-fà 'They walked two by two'  
they-walk people two two two

For examples of numeral: {-approximate/-alternative} see examples  
282, 297, 316, 321.



8.52323 The numeral feature is also specified as + or -extended (cf. 8.522).

Example:

282.	mìna	ód	òse	ḡ-ṭò:k	v-àné	sa	é'tém	f	ómène	áṣà
	we	we-see	thing	one	in heart	which	it-grows	teeth		
			noun	numeral	NP	relative-clause	relative			
						marker				

'We used to see a certain thing in the heart which grew teeth.'

## 8.6 The relative extension

The nucleus of a nominal phrase may also be modified by a relative extension. The selection of any marked feature in the relative extension system is realized by the presence of an item (specified below) in relative relation, immediately preceded by a relative marker and accompanied by relative tone pattern (3.42). The relative marker is concord element A (chapter 10) and shows concord with the nucleus of the nominal phrase in respect of number and concord-class.

Items which may function in relative relation are:

nominal phrase	8.61
bound pronoun-root	8.62
temporal word	8.631
size morpheme	8.632
interrogative word or NP	8.633
clause	8.64

The relative extension occurs following other constituents of the nominal phrase except when specified as pronominal, in which case it occurs following any demonstrative constituent, preceding any other constituents.

Further specifications are shown on the system network diagram in section 8.02 (page 233).

8.61 The +nominal feature is realized by the specification that the item in relative relation is a nominal phrase. The relative NP may have possessive meaning, as in examples 283 and 284, or descriptive meaning, as in examples 285 and 286.

Examples:

283. ó'-kórò kw ó-dím 'her husband's knife'  
 knife of husband  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>

284. ó-só:m kwé k-á:-m ó'-dím  
 house of me husband  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> pronoun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 NP NP  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>  
 NP<sup>complex</sup>

'the house of me, her husband'

The nominal phrase in relative relation is here itself a complex nominal phrase (8.8).

285. à-şí p é'gwá 'drinking water'  
 water of drinking  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>

286. á-gbá:náká' p í-pánòr, 'sisters'  
 siblings of women  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>

See also examples 302, 303.

8.62 The +pronominal feature has possessive meaning only, and is realized by the specification that the item in relative relation is a bound pronoun-root (cf. 7.25 8.11 2.23). The pronoun-root is phonologically bound to the relative marker.

When the pronoun-root has an initial consonant, the juncture vowel a occurs between the relative marker and the pronoun-root. Before a monosyllabic root (including the syllabic nasal m) this juncture vowel is lengthened.

eg.      è-fá    c-â:-m    'my dog'    è-fá    c-á-mínà    'our dog'  
           è-fá    c-ô            'your dog'    è-fá    c-á-bónà    'your dog (plu.)'  
           è-fá    c-ê            'his dog'    è-fá    c-á:-bè    'their dog'

287.      à-kpùkà            p-á:-m'                            mápyír  
           money            of        me                            all  
           noun<sup>nuc</sup>        r-m    pronoun-root<sup>relative</sup>        total

'all my money'

288.      ì-kwàndòŋ    kw-á:-m                            kpènáŋkpèn  
           wife            of        me                            each  
           noun<sup>nuc</sup>        r-m    pronoun-root<sup>relative</sup>        adjective

'each of my wives'

See also examples 299, 300,  
303, 321.

8.63 The +qualified feature is further specified as temporal, size or interrogative.

8.631 The temporal feature is realized by the selection of a temporal word as the item in relative relation (6.3522).

Examples

289.      ò-nòŋ            ŋ-w-ó                            kwé            céná  
           person            that                            of            yesterday  
           noun<sup>nuc</sup>        demonstrative r-m            temporal<sup>relative</sup>

'that person of yesterday, that person who came yesterday'

290.      è-wù            c'    mēndà                            'today'  
           day            of        today  
           noun<sup>nuc</sup>        r-m    temporal<sup>relative</sup>

8.632 The size feature is realized by the selection of a size morpheme as the item in relative relation. Size morphemes comprise:

- ɛ̀dɛ̀dén (contracted form -ɛ̀dén) 'big'  
 -ɛ̀kpérédɛ̀ 'small'

Size morphemes are phonologically bound to the relative marker. They only occur in this function.

Examples:

291. ɔ̀-vá:nón' kw -ɛ̀dɛ̀dén 'a first class chief'  
 chief who big  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m size<sup>relative</sup>

292. létɛ̀ kw -ɛ̀kpérédɛ̀ 'a small letter'  
 letter which small  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m size<sup>relative</sup> See also examples 301, 318.

8.633 The interrogative feature is realized by the selection of one of the following interrogative items as the item in relative relation: the interrogative word ǎñl 'who' (5.1322)  
 or mbón 'what'  
 or a nominal phrase with the feature which-interrogative (8.51).

Examples:

293. ɛ̀-ɛ̀wà kw áñf 'Whose child?'  
 child of whom?  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m interrogative<sup>relative</sup>
294. ɔ̀-dìk kwɛ́ bɔ̀-ɔ̀-t̃ô:k 'a matter of which thing'  
 matter of which thing  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>  
 which-interrogative





299. á-gbá:náká' p-é' p í-pánḁ<sub>1</sub>  
 siblings of him of women<sup>nuc</sup>  
 noun r-m pronoun<sup>relative</sup> r-m NP<sup>relative</sup>  
 root  
 'his sisters' +pronominal/+nominal
300. ó-gbá:náká kw-à:-m / kwé k-á:-m ntòrɔ́ n-n:àm/  
 brother of me whom I I-follow back  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m pronoun<sup>relative</sup> r-m NP<sup>S</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>  
 root clause<sup>relative</sup> - - -
- kwé mó'fón è-m:à mádánè / kw ókpèn' écèm ègbá  
 who we-come birth one who he-named Echem Egba  
 VG NP<sup>C</sup> VG NP<sup>C</sup>  
 r-m clause<sup>relative</sup> - - - - - r-m clause<sup>relative</sup> - - -
- 'my brother whom I follow (my elder brother), with whom I share  
 one mother, who is called Echem Egba'  
 +pronominal/+clausal<sup>3</sup>

301. ò-dá:ṛ f -ḁdén f ó'tím ñà  
 fougou which big which he-brings there  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m size<sup>relative</sup> VG relator  
 r-m clause<sup>relative</sup>
- 'the big fougou which he brings there' +qualified:size/+clausal

Since the nucleus of a relative nominal phrase may itself be modified by a relative extension considerable layering may occur. The concord of the relative marker with the nuclear noun which it modifies prevents any ambiguity of reference.

Example:

302.	ínánṣbòṇa	ótùká'	kw	í-nó:n	n-j-ó	s	ṁfo	ṁcǐ
	I-give-you	fine	of	bird	that	which	I-kill	I-eat
							VG	VG
							<u>clause</u>	<u>clause</u>
				noun <sup>nuc</sup>	demonstrative	r-m	clause	relative complex
				=====				
				noun <sup>nuc</sup>	r-m	nominal phrase	relative	
				=====				

'I give you the fine for that bird which I killed and ate.'

+nominal where the relative nominal phrase includes a relative clause: ótùká' belonging to concord set 1 (10.2) has the relative marker kw, while ínò:n, concord set 8, is matched by the relative marker s.

303.	à-kpèn	p	í-pánòr	p-á:-m
	life	of	wives	of me
			noun <sup>nuc</sup>	r-m pronoun <sup>relative</sup>
				root
			=====	
			noun <sup>nuc</sup>	r-m nominal phrase relative

'the life of my wives' +nominal where the relative nominal phrase includes a relative pronoun: both àkpèn and ípànòr belong to concord set 2 and are therefore matched by the same relative marker p but the position of the relative pronoun prevents ambiguity.

## 8.7 Modifications of the nominal phrase in locative relation

The function of the nominal phrase in locative relation is described in 6.33.

8.71 When more than one NP in locative relation occurs in a clause, the NP being in paratactic relation to each other (either



combinatory or appositional 8.8) each nominal phrase is preceded by a relator and accompanied by locative tone pattern (3.41).

Example:

304. ápyiré sa ò-bón' kw-á-bónà / ka í-byí' s íde ègbè  
if-you-reach to town of you to place which it-hill  
rel NP rel NP  
'if you reach your town, at the place where there is a hill'

8.72 When a nominal phrase with a noun as nucleus functions in locative relation it is further specified as + or -position.

The +position feature is realized by the presence of a noun denoting position following any other constituents of the NP, optionally preceded by a relator and carrying locative tone pattern.

Examples:

305.    sa    ɛ'-n̄s̄ŋ    n-d-ó    sa    ɛ'ɪr̄s̄ŋ  
          on   two-story   that            on   top  
          rel noun<sup>nuc</sup>       demonstr-    rel noun<sup>position</sup>  
                                  ative  
          'on top of that two story house'

306.    ña    ô'-sô:m'    ŋ-w-ò    é-tá:ŋá  
          in house            that            inside  
          rel   noun<sup>nuc</sup>       demonstrative noun<sub>position</sub>  
          'inside that house'

As noted in the discussion of the relator in 6.33, the relator does not itself imply position or movement (translations of the relator in examples are necessarily misleading since English prepositions do imply position or movement). The selection of the +position feature makes the position explicit, bringing the position into prominence.

The following reduplicative structures commonly function in locative relation:

sa é'-rón	é'-rón	'on top'
ka í-sék'	í-sék	'underneath lit. on ground'
ka n-n:ám'	n-n:ám	'behind lit. at back'

8.73 A nominal phrase having a nominal or pronominal relative extension (8.61, 8.62), when functioning in locative relation is further specified as either + or -diffuse. Up to this point in the description only the -diffuse form has been described. Nominal phrases in any other relation always have the feature -diffuse.

A nominal phrase in locative relation very commonly has the feature +diffuse. The contrast of meaning between + and -diffuse forms can best be illustrated from an example:

òtá	sa	ô'-şó:m'	kw	é-kwòr	'he goes to the <u>tortoise's</u> house'
he-goes to	house	of	tortoise		
rel	noun <sup>nuc</sup>	r-m	NP <sup>relative</sup>		-diffuse

òtá	sa	é-kwòr	ka	ó-şó:m	'he goes to the tortoise at his house'
he-goes to	tortoise	to	house		
rel	noun	rel	noun <sup>nuc</sup>		+diffuse

In the -diffuse form, the relative nominal phrase modifies the nuclear noun. In the +diffuse form, both nominal elements have equal status.

The +diffuse feature is realized by the presence of a nuclear noun (which may be followed by other modifying items) preceded by a nominal phrase having a personal referent and possessive meaning, usually occurring in its minimal form. Both these constituents are preceded by a relator (the relator preceding the nuclear noun is always ka) and <sup>are</sup> accompanied by locative tone pattern.

Examples:

307. mád àyók ísá:'ré sa ò'-dím ka í'-dímíṭém  
 they-weed grass at husband at man's-farm  
 rel noun rel noun<sup>nuc</sup>

'they weed grass at the husband's farm!'

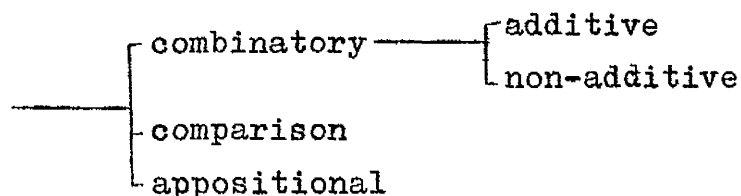
308. fḱwu fḱpe ánà mâ' bór|à ka ó-bôn  
 I-come I- oil here you in town  
 sell  
 rel pronoun rel noun<sup>nuc</sup>

'I have come to sell oil here in your town.'

### 8.8 The nominal phrase complex

The constituents of a nominal phrase complex are nominal phrases (basic or complex) in paratactic linear recursive relationship to each other. Each of the constituents therefore shares the same grammatical functions and participant roles in the larger structure in which the nominal phrase complex occurs. Constituents may, however, have different theme roles (cf. 6.4 examples 214, 215, 218.)

The complex is specified as:



8.81 In a combinatory NP complex, each of the NP constituents has a separate referent. If it is further specified as additive then each of the constituents has separate relevance, whereas if it is specified as non-additive the constituents have relevance only if taken in conjunction with each other.

8.811 The additive feature is realized by either

i) the presence of more than two NP each having a separate intonation contour.

Examples:

309. àtóká é-wàkpó / ò-tòrú' / í-tóbàsè / è-tèn / àtóká é'kpó  
 you-take vegetables okro crayfish meat you-take  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup> things  
 NP NP NP NP

---

mbyó mápyír... 'you take, vegetables, okro, crayfish, meat,  
 those all you take all those things...'

310. ègba ékpén b́é òòhònégbè / ɲwàɲám̀bà / íbá:mé /  
 bush is-called Obhonegbe Nwangamba Ibaame  
 proper<sup>nuc</sup> proper<sup>nuc</sup> proper<sup>nuc</sup>  
 name name name  
 NP NP NP

---

ókìpè / ògádà

Okkipe Ogada  
 proper<sup>nuc</sup> proper<sup>name</sup>  
 name name  
 NP NP

---

'the plantations are called Obhonegbe,  
 Nwangamba, Ibaame, Okkipe and Ogada'

ii) the presence of two NP linked by the conjunction ò-tàrà. This conjunction has the form of a minimal clause, being composed of the verb-root tàrà 'to add' and the prefix ò-, literally 'it adds'. The conjunction and subsequent NP may carry a separate intonation contour and may be separated from the first NP by other constituents of the larger structure (examples 313, 314).

When the NP constituents of the complex are long three or four NP may be linked by the conjunct ò-tàrà occurring before each NP (example 315).

## Examples:

311. àbè-ń-n:à / ò-ṭàrà àbè-ṭáṭà 'ladies and gentlemen'  
 honoured- and honoured-men text A 1  
 ladies  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 NP conj NP

312. k-à-m ò-ṭàrà ʔokoyi arikpo 'I and Okoi Arikpo'  
 I and Okoi Arikpo  
 pronoun<sup>nuc</sup> proper-name  
 NP conj NP

313. k-ó'-kóro òṣòkà / ò-ṭàrà ì-dímá'  
 knife he-has-put and calabash  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>  
 NP → conj NP

'He had put down the knife and also the calabash'

314. àb-à-kà / óṣìbè yén / ò-ṭàrà àb-à-ṭé 'How are your  
 mothers it-does what and fathers mothers, and  
 them  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup> your fathers?'  
 NP → conj NP

315. má'ts̀ka ó-kpà:r má'céne ó'yéné kwó wèndó máyà:mé' /  
 they-take canoe they-send owner who before they-borrow  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup>

ò-ṭàrà à-kpùkà / ò-ṭàrà ḡ-gbòdò ṣe m'mábíra ànárì ɔ̀nòrì r̀wó  
 and money and mats which they-will-also-give  
 noun<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup> r-m clause<sup>relative person that</sup>  
 conj NP conj NP

'They take the money and return it to the owner whom they borrowed from, and also the money, and the mats, which they give that person also.'



319.   ńde    ó-nòŋ    mac    ó-tím̀̀kpón    'I am someone like a  
           I-am   person   like   policeman    policeman.'  
                   noun                    noun  
                   =====                   =====  
                   NP                   conj   NP

8.83 When the NP complex has the feature appositional, all the constituent NP have the same referent. Very commonly the nucleus of one of the nominal phrases is a pronoun. The feature is realized by the presence of two or more nominal phrases (not usually more than three) with no overt link.

Examples:

320.   mìnà   mápyír /  òbóǹ̀m   ò-bòn   mápyír /  má'kwu áťóná má  
           we     all           Ovonum   town     all           we-come-gather  
           pronoun<sup>nuc</sup>           proper<sup>nuc</sup> noun<sup>nuc</sup>   total                   here  
                   total           name  
                   =====           =====           =====  
                   NP                   NP                   NP

'We all, the whole town of Ovonum, came and gathered here.'

321.   ì-và    p-ê           a-nòŋ   à-fà /  b-ê   nnátér àpé  
           children of him   people   two           they   they-instead-die  
           noun<sup>nuc</sup>   r-m           noun<sup>nuc</sup>   numeral   pronoun<sup>nuc</sup>  
                                 pronoun-  
                                 root  
                   =====           =====           =====  
                   NP                   NP                   NP

'His two children, they died instead.'

text D 30

The following example illustrates layering in the structure of the nominal phrase. The nucleus of the entire nominal phrase is a noun è-m̀̀ŋ, primarily modified by a clausal relative extension. The nominal phrase subject of this relative clause is complex, specified as combinatory:additive and comprises two constituent nominal phrases one of which is basic and the other an appositional complex.

322.

è-mòr, sá c      r̥-ké'ká' n-j-ó      ó-tàra k-é      o-rà:rà mád àkò:n  
 song there      streams those and he      river they sang

which

noun<sup>nuc</sup>demon-  
strativepronoun<sup>nuc</sup>

NP

noun<sup>nuc</sup>

NP

NP

conj

NP

complex(apposit-  
ional)NP<sup>s</sup>

complex(combinatory:additive)

VG

noun<sup>nuc</sup>

r-m

clause

relative

NP

'the song (there) which those streams and he, the river, were  
 singing'

text B 20-21



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## CHAPTER NINE

### THE WORD AND MORPHEME UNITS

#### 9.0 Introduction

The term 'word' is used for convenience to include all classes of items which function directly, as free forms, in the structure of the nominal phrase, clause, sentence or utterance, (excluding the nominal phrase, verbal group, clause and sentence units).

The term 'morpheme' is used to include all grammatical units which have no structure.

Word classes which are also morpheme classes are listed, with references, in the morpheme section of the chart on page 275.

Word classes of which at least some members are morphologically complex comprise:

free pronoun	8.11
demonstrative	8.41
conjunction (NP)	8.81
emphatic particle	9.11
adverb	9.12
noun	9.13
numeral	9.14

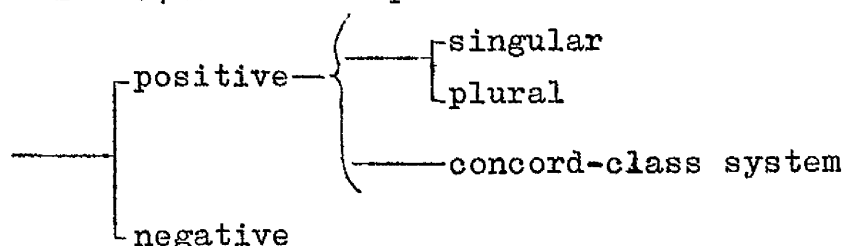
References given above indicate the place in the description that the features and structure of each word class are described, and also that an inventory of the members of closed classes is given.

#### 9.1 Word units

##### 9.11 The emphatic particle

The function of the emphatic particle in the clause is

described in 6.42. It is specified as:



The negative emphatic particle is the single form àsán  
 eg. ò-vá:r á'sán 'He isn't a chief.' See examples 214, 220.

The positive emphatic particle consists of the root -ó  
 preceded by concord element C (10.2) showing concord with the  
 item in contrast in respect of number and concord-class.  
 eg. ó-só:m w-ó 'It is a house.' è-fá d-ó 'It is a dog.'  
 See examples 213, 215, 216, 217, 219.

#### 9.12 The adverb

The adverb functions as a constituent of the clause in  
 adjunct relation (6.32).

The adverbs mátètémá: 'plenty, until, and so' and  
pírá 'before, then' also function as conjunctions in the  
 sentence (5.61).

The following adverbs also function as modifiers in the  
 nominal phrase:

mâncéné	(isolative 8.32)
mápyír	(total 8.43)
ò-bá-kw-ê	'recently, new' (8.521)
ké'búnjô	'wholely, complete' (8.521)
mín:à	'thus, about' (8.52321)

mín:à has special status in that alone of all adverbs it may  
 function as the only constituent of a truncated sentence. It is  
 commonly used in this way: mín:à-ò 'lit. thus? Is that so?'  
 It may also occur in contrast (6.42) and may be expanded by a

relative clause. Example:

323. íkwùkwù sɛ kɔ á'ké / ɪ'gá:ŋɛ ó'gá:ŋɛ mín:á' kw ékpá'  
 box which you you-put it-hard thus that bag  
 oà:m é'gá:ŋɛ-ô 'The box which you put in is as hard as my  
 my it-hard bag is.'

9.121 The following adverbs manifest concord with the subject of the clause in which they function:

- ɔ̃-dók' 'again' The prefix shows concord in respect of number and concord-class (10.). However, many speakers use the form for concord set 1 irrespective of the number and concord of the subject. The linear position of this adverb is irregular in that in negative clauses it sometimes occurs preceding items in complement relation.

Example:

324. è-ce ɔ̃-dók' ékwòr k-é'-sé'  
 leopard again tortoise he-did-not-see

'The leopard didn't see the tortoise again.' See also examples 66, 67.

- ɔ̃-bá-kw-é 'recently, new' The prefix and consonantal concord element A show concord in respect of number and concord-class.

Example:

325. ɔ̃-nòŋ ŋ-w-ó kw ó-pe ɔ̃-bá-kw-é  
 person that who he-died recently

'that person who died recently'

9.122 The following adverbs have reduplicative structure:

- é**é**ár é**é**ár 'quickly' cf. example 71  
 èkpa é'kpá 'together'

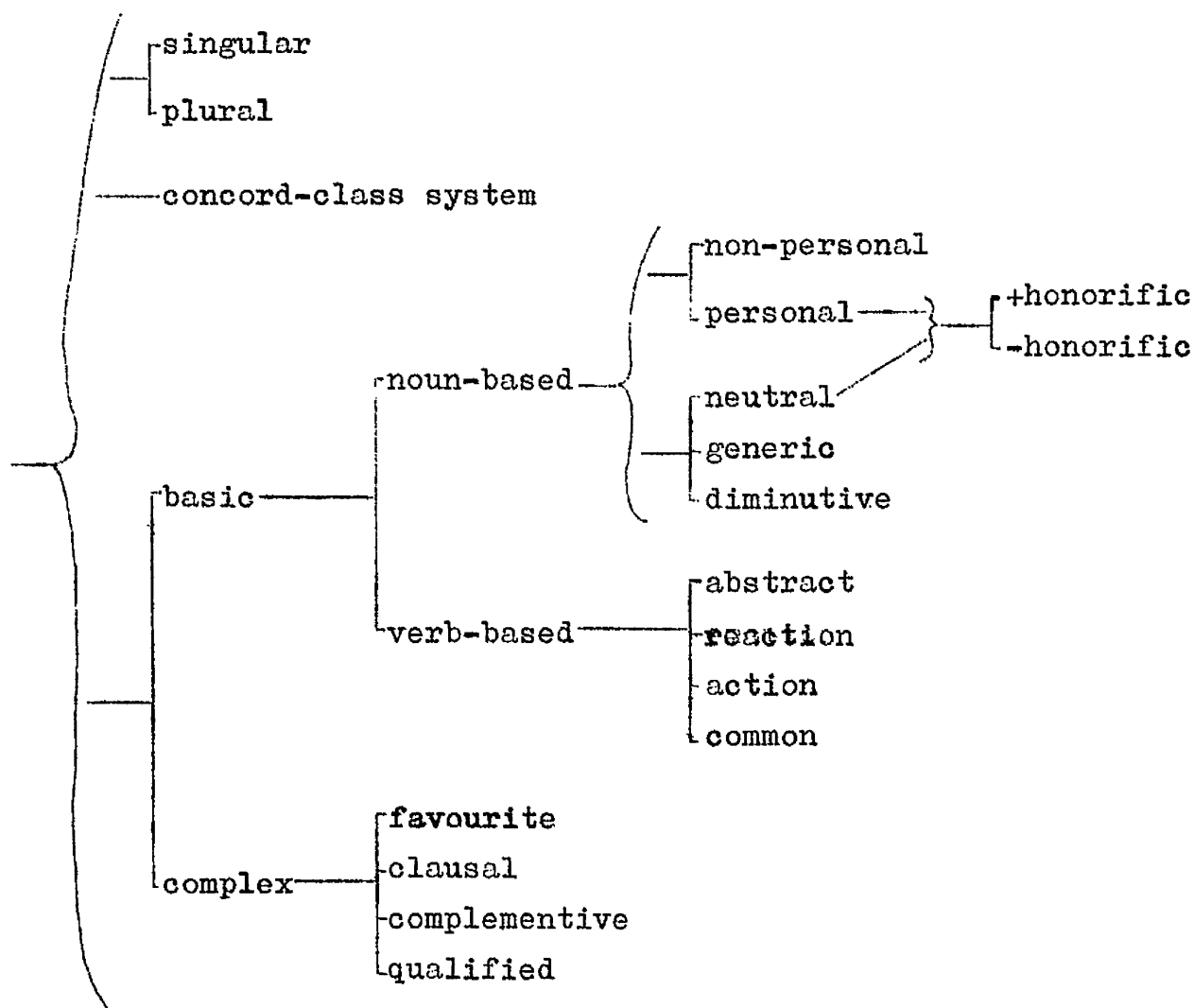


### 9.13 The noun

The noun functions as the nucleus of the nominal phrase (8.13). With the exception of a small group of nouns denoting relationship (eg. *ṭáṭà* 'father') and a few borrowed words, all nouns have the nuclear structure:

prefix ^stem

The noun is the point of origin of the network:



Number and concord-class features are realized through the selection of a prefix of the appropriate number and concord-class. See chapter 10.

The noun is primarily specified as basic or complex.

9.131 The basic noun has a stem consisting of a single morpheme, which may be either a noun-root (noun-based) or a verb-root (verb-based).

9.1311 Noun-based nouns are further specified as personal (having a human, personal referent) or non-personal. Personal nouns, and also proper names with the feature personal (8.12), may be prefixed by the honorific prefix àb-. Items so prefixed most commonly occur in vocative relation. Common collocations are:

àb-à-dím	'honoured husbands'
àb-á-yì	'respected friends'
àb-àlísì	'respected Alisi and her followers'

See also text A 1.

Noun-based nouns may also be suffixed by the diminutive suffix -nṵá (plural form -vá) 'small', or by the generic suffix -sè 'kind of' or may occur in the neutral form with no suffix.

The diminutive suffix -nṵá is clearly the same root as the word for child, ḥ-nṵà plu. ì-và. However the suffix form carries high tone. When the prefix of the neutral form is any prefix except a syllabic nasal, then the prefix of the corresponding diminutive form is o-/ɔ- 'singular, a- plural. A syllabic nasal prefix remains in the diminutive form.

eg.	<u>neutral</u>	<u>diminutive</u>
	è-fá 'dog'	ò-fá-nṵá 'puppy'
	í-bá'rá' 'cloth'	ó-bá'rá'-nṵá 'a small cloth'
	ḥ-nṵèr 'book'	ḥ-nṵèr-nṵá 'a pamphlet'

The generic suffix -sè is the same root as the noun ò-sè 'kind' 'type'. The generic form of the noun has the same prefix as the neutral form.

eg.	<u>generic</u>
ò-ṭò:k 'thing'	ò-ṭò:k-sè 'something or other, (non-specific)'
è-fá 'dog'	è-fá-sè 'a kind of dog, animal of the dog family'





iii. the presence of the vowel â replacing the final vowel of the verb root.

eg.      cî      'to eat'      è-câ      'eating'  
          gwá   'to carve'      è-gwâ   'carving'  
          kwú   'to come'      è-kwâ   'coming'

The common feature is realized by:

i. the selection of the prefix e-/ɛ-. A few nouns of this type occur with the prefix o-, a- or i-.

ii. the selection of a verb-root of any class as the stem of the noun. Quality and reaction verb-roots occurring in this type of noun have a concrete meaning - eg. from the verb-root bân 'to be dirty' is derived the common form è-bâná 'dirt' in contrast to the abstract form á-bân-íjî 'dirtiness'.

iii. the selection of tone patterns as described in 3.2/6.

Certain verb-roots of the structure CVC or CVCɛ/ɔ have a final vowel a in this form.

eg.	cà	'to clear, pack'	è-cà	'farm clearing'
	bób	'to flow'	è-bób	'current'
	bór	'to mark'	è-bórá	'mark, pattern'
	báke	'to change, turn'	è-báké	'change'
	jíb	'to be good'	é-jí'bá	'goodness, riches'
	kpèn	'to stay, exist'	à-kpèn	'life'

9.132 The complex noun has a stem consisting of more than one morpheme. Complex nouns are further specified as favourite, clausal, complementive or qualified.

9.1321 The favourite feature is realized by the presence of a noun-root preceded by either a verb-root or a noun-root as stem. The prefix of the complex noun is the prefix normally selected with the second noun-root in the basic form.

Semantically the meaning of the first root qualifies the meaning of the second:

eg. è-bá 'breast'    à-sí 'water'    à-bá-sí 'milk, lit. liquid of the breast'

ò-bó:k 'arm'    è-dòṣó 'throat, neck'    è-bó:(k)-dó'ṣó  
'wrist, lit. the neck of the arm'

kwùna 'to return'    ò-gbé 'time'    ò-kwùna-gbé 'time for returning'

text A.3

ó-bè 'pear tree'    è-só 'head'    é-bè-só 'the pear tree top, lit. the head of the pear tree'

Rules for the elision of segmental and tonal forms are regular (2.4 3.5 note especially 3.572b) with the exception that when a noun-root with the tone pattern LH' or HL occurs immediately preceding a noun-root with high tone, the downstep which would be expected to follow the first root does not occur.

eg. ò-wòṣó 'farm'    ò-tó:m 'work'    ò-wòṣó-tó:m 'farm work'  
è-cên 'yams'    è-róḅ '20'    è-cén-nóḅ 'a rope of 20 yams'

This type of complex noun is very productive.

9.1322 The clausal feature is realized by:

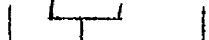
- i. the selection of the prefix ò-/ò-
- ii. the presence of a verb-root



b) ò-cì 'family group' è-m:à 'motherhood' è-cì-m:à  
'matrilineal family'

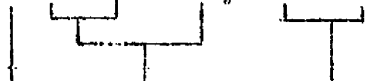
ì-kwà 'female' ò-nòŋ 'person' ì-kwà-nòŋ  
'woman'

è-cì-m:à ò-nòŋ ò-cì-m:à-nòŋ



'member of the matrilineal family'

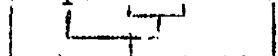
è-cì-m:à-nòŋ ì-kwà-nòŋ ò-cì-m:à-nòŋ-kwà-nòŋ



'woman member of the matrilineal  
family'

c) kpà 'to bind' ì-cèn 'eye' ò-kpa-ì-cèn 'blindness'

ò-kpa-ì-cèn ò-nòŋ 'person' ò-kpa-ì-cèn-nòŋ

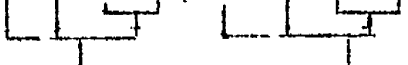


'a blind person'

d) fò 'to kill' ò-nòŋ 'person' ò-fò-ò-nòŋ 'murderer'

tóka 'to take' ò-òòn 'town' ò-tók-ò-òòn 'one who  
controls a town'

ò-fò-ò-nòŋ ò-tók-ò-òòn ò-fò-ò-nòŋ-ò-tók-ò-òòn



'name of a particular kind of plant  
lit. murderer-ruling-the-town'

9.1323 The complementive feature is realized by:

- i. the presence of a verb-root as final constituent of the stem
- ii. the presence of a noun-root preceding the verb-root and in complement relation to it.
- iii. the selection of the prefix e-/ɛ-, having high tone if either the verb-root or the 1st syllable of the noun-root has inherent high tone, otherwise having low tone.

iv. the presence of the vowel à following the final consonant of the verb-root.

Rules for tonal and segmental elision are regular.

eg. ò-dìk 'word' gbá:k 'to speak' é-dík'-gbá:k-á' 'speech'

è-dén 'path' yà:ke 'to branch' é-dén-yá:k-à 'fork of  
the road'

é-pyá 'market' mòm 'to be soft' é-pyá-móm-à 'cheapness'

9.1324 The qualified feature is realized by the presence of a **basic, noun-based** noun immediately followed by another basic noun modifying the first. The tone of the second noun is as for a noun in a relative extension (3.42). This class comprises a very few, stylized members.

eg. è-tèn 'animal' è-gbá 'bush' è-tèn-é'-gbá 'wild animal'  
 ò-yòk 'person' ò-nòṣì 'person' ò-yòk-ó-nòṣì 'human being'  
 'creature'  
 ó-gbá:n 'family-relation' ò-kà 'mother' ó-gbá:n-ó-kà 'brother by one mother'

### 9.14 The numeral

The numeral functions in modifying relation in the nominal phrase (8.5232). Numerals from 1-7 ~~and 20~~ are in concord with the nuclear noun of the nominal phrase, other numerals are invariable, except for 20 and 400 which have a singular and plural form (9.143)

9.141 The numeral 1 has two forms, an emphatic and non-emphatic form. The non-emphatic form has the structure:

má- ^concord-element-C ^-àné

The prefix ma- is quite commonly omitted.

The plural form of the numeral 𐎠 has the meaning 'some'.

eg. à-nòr, w-àné } 'one person'      à-nòr, b-àné 'some people'

The emphatic form of the numeral 1 has the structure:

má- ^ (concord-element-C ^-à-nè) reduplicated

eg.      ò-nòŋ    ŋ-w-ó    má-w-á'né    w-ánè    'that very same person'  
         à-nòŋ    m-b-ó    má-b-á'né    b-ánè    'those very same people'

See example 297.

9.142 Numerals from 2-7 have the structure:

concord-class-prefix    ^numeral-root

the selection of the prefix being determined by the concord-class of the nuclear noun of the nominal phrase. These numerals comprise:

à-nòr <sub>j</sub>	à-fà	'2 people'	(concord set 2)
	à-tá:n	'3'	
	à-n:à	'4'	(alternative form à-n:ébùr <sub>j</sub> )
	à-cén	'5'	
	à-cádàné	'6'	(contraction of 5 + 1)
	à-cénóm fá	'7'	(contraction of 5 + 2)

9.143 Numerals over 7 do not show concord with the nuclear noun. Except for 20 and 400 (see below) they are invariable in form. Numerals over 20 might be better considered as numeral phrases. Specimen examples are given below:

ócénónfá:n '8' (contraction of 5 + 3)  
 óşówánè '9' (contraction of 10 - 1)  
 ìjòè '10'  
 ìjòkáwánè '11' (contraction of 10 + 1)  
 ìcì '15'  
 è-róè òkwùma má-w-ánè '21' (20 and 1)

Larger numerals are counted in multiples of 20. The numeral è-rôb has a plural form à-rôb which occurs in multiple figures.

eg. à-nòrì è-róbè '20 people'      à-nòrì à-róbè á-fà '40 people'  
(20 x 2)

The largest numeral, é-nò: 'ná' '400' (the same root as the word é-nò: ná' 'finger') also has a plural form: ń-nò: 'na m-fà' '800' (400 x 2). In these multiple forms the second numeral is in concord with the first.

## 9.2 Inventory of classes

The following charts give an inventory of all classes of units in the language.

The first chart (page 275) shows those classes of units which function in the structure of the utterance, sentence, clause and nominal phrase. Reading down each column gives a list of classes which function in the structure of any given unit. Thus, in the structure of the utterance, functions the sentence, nominal phrase in vocative relation, and the response, exclamation and narration marker words. Major constituents which occur in the nuclear structure of the unit are shown in capital letters. Reading across each row gives a summary of the structures in which any given unit may function.

The second chart (page 276) shows the morpheme classes which function in the structure of the verbal group, noun, pronoun, demonstrative, numeral, adverb, and emphatic particle. All these morpheme classes are bound except for the verb-root (in the imperative form of the verbal group), a very limited set of noun-roots (most noun-roots only occur in conjunction with a concord-class prefix), a limited set of adverb-roots and the (plural) pronoun-roots in the free pronoun.

In both charts references are given to the place in which the function of each class of unit is described. In the case of closed word and morpheme classes (i.e. all word and morpheme classes except the noun, noun-root, verb-root, proper name and ideophone) reference is also given to the place at which the inventory of the members of each class is listed.

The charts do not take linear recursive structures into account.

UTTERANCE	SENTENCE	CLAUSE	NOMINAL PHRASE
SENTENCE 1.2		utterance (d-r) 6.200.	
CLAUSE	CLAUSE 5.	sentence (d-r) 6.200	
VERBAL GROUP		clause (d-r) 6.37	clause <sup>relative</sup> (d-r) 8.64
NOMINAL PHRASE	nominal phrase <sup>voc</sup> 4.215	VERBAL GROUP 6.0	nominal phrase (d-r) 8.522
	nominal phrase <sup>nuclear</sup> 5.131	NOMINAL PHRASE 6.0	nominal phrase <sup>relative</sup> 8.61
		emphatic particle 6.42 9.11	NOUN 8.13 9.13 PRONOUN 8.11 PROPER NAME 8.12 demonstrative 8.41 numeral 8.5232 9.14 conjunction (NP) 8.81 adverb 8.521 9.12 -isolative 8.32 -total 8.43 -min:a 8.52321
	response 4.211 exclamation 4.214 narration-marker 4.22	ideophone 6.31 temporal 6.3522 relator 6.33 interrogative 5.1321 temporal particle 6.351 link (be) 6.222.2 6.233.3	adjective 8.521 specific 8.42 temporal 8.631 6.3522 relator 8.522 6.33 interrogative 8.633 5.1321
	intensive (qoto) 5.2 persuasive (ke) 5.2 interrogative (osempira) 5.1321 conjunction (sentence) 5.61 5.712 introducer 5.62 coordinating link (okuru be) 5.711		
	final marker 5.8	subjunctive marker 6.13 subordinating link 6.18 subordinate negative particle 6.182 perfect marker (k-) 6.1511 plural marker (u-) 6.17	pronoun-root 8.62 size 8.632 relative marker 8.6 10.2 interrogative particle bay- 8.51 -paq 8.5231



<u>VERBAL GROUP</u>	<u>NOUN</u>	<u>PRONOUN</u>	<u>DEMONSTRATIVE</u>	<u>NUMERAL</u>	<u>ADVERB</u>	<u>EMPHATIC-PARTICLE</u>
verb-root 7.01	noun-root 9.1311 9.132	pronoun-root 8.11	demonstrative-root 8.41	numeral-root 9.14	adverb-root 9.12	emphatic-particle-root 9.11
auxiliary-verb-root 7.02	verb-root 9.1312 9.132		relator 8.41 6.33			
bound pronoun-root 7.25						
person prefix 7.12 10.2	concord-class prefix 9.13 10.2			concord-class prefix 9.14 10.2	concord-class prefix 9.12 10.2	
		concord-element-B 8.11 10.2	concord-element-C 8.41 10.2	concord-element-C 9.14 10.2	concord-element-A 9.12 10.2	concord-element-C 9.11 10.2
juncture prefix 7.11		juncture prefix 8.11				
tense marker (positive) 7.1512	honorific prefix 9.1311			numeral prefix <u>ma-</u> 9.14		
tense marker (negative) 7.11 7.152	diminutive suffix 9.1311		demonstrative-prefix <u>ni-</u> 8.41			
tense suffix 7.1511	generic suffix 9.1311					
	derivational suffix 9.1312					

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## CHAPTER TEN

### THE CONCORD CLASS SYSTEM

#### 10.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the features of the concord-class system and their realization. The system is relevant at the following points in the description:-

- a) the clause - the verbal clause constituent of the non-imperative clause shows concord with the nominal phrase subject of the clause, or, where no overt nominal phrase subject occurs in the clause, with the subject referent (6.12). Where a constituent of the clause occurs in contrast (6.42) the emphatic particle (9.11) shows concord with that constituent.
- b) the verbal group - person prefixes selected throughout the verbal group, in every auxiliary and in the main verb, show concord with each other, ultimately with the NP<sup>s</sup> of the clause (7.12).
- c) the nominal phrase - demonstrative (8.4), relative marker (8.6) and certain numeral (8.5232) and adverb (8.521) constituents of the nominal phrase show concord with the nuclear noun, proper name or pronoun (8.2).
- d) the free pronoun - the free pronoun (8.11) shows concord with its referent.
- e) the noun - (9.13) ultimately it is the concord-class affiliation of each individual noun which determines the concord-selection at other points of structure.

#### 10.1 Realization

Concord class features are realized by the selection of either i) a specific concord-class prefix, as nominal prefix in the noun, numeral or adverb or ii) a specific consonantal concord element.

10.2 Noun sets

A set of nouns is the total of those nouns which select a given prefix and associated concord elements. With exceptions listed below every noun belongs to two sets, to one in its plural form, to the other in its singular form. Thus the noun ó-sô:m belongs to set 1 in its singular form, to set 8 in its plural form í-sô:m. í-gbòm:à 'rat' belongs to set 8 in its singular form and to set 2 in its plural form. (see further 10.3 below). Some sets comprise only singular nouns (all odd numbered sets), other sets only plural nouns, others both singular and plural.

The following sets occur:

	prefix	concord element		
<u>singular only</u>		A	B	C
set 1	o-/ɔ-	kw	k	w
3	e-/ɛ-	c	d	d
5	N-	kw	k	w
7*	i-	kw	k	w
9*	i-	f̣	f̣	v
11	a-	kw	k	w
<u>plural only</u>				
2	a-	p	b	b
4	e-/ɛ-	py	by	by
<u>singular and plural</u>				
6	o-/ɔ-	f̣	f̣	v
8	i-	ṣ	j	j
10	N-	ṣ	j	j

Nouns selecting the same prefix (eg. set 1 and 6) may belong to different sets because of contrastive concord elements.

Sets marked by an asterisk above have only one member.

### 10.3 Singular and plural pairings

Nouns are then further grouped into concord-classes ~~4~~ according to their singular plural pairing. For example, all nouns which belong to set 1 in their singular form and to set 2 in their plural form are members of the same concord-class.

Concord-classes comprise:

singular/plural

1/2	eg.	ò-nòŋ	'person'	à-nòŋ	'people'
1/8		ó-şô:m	'house'	í-şô:m	'houses'
1/10		ò-bó:k	'hand, arm'	m-bó:k	'hands, arms'
6/2		ò-kà	'fetish'	à-kà	'fetishes'
6/8		ò-tó:m	'work'	ì-tó:m	'tasks'
3/10		è-tèn	'animal'	h-tèn	'animals'
3/2		è-vú	'goat'	à-vú	'goats'
8/6		ì-jò:k	'snake'	ò-jò:k	'snakes'
8/2		í-gbòm:à	'rat'	á-gbòm:à	'rats'
10/6		í-gbòdò	'ceiling mat'	ó-gbòdò	'ceiling mats'
5/10		í-kòmè	'difference'	í-kòmè	'differences'
5/2		ń-cà	'sponge'	á-ncà	'sponges'
11/2		á'-gá'	'needle'	á'-gá'	'needles'

Other classes which have only one or two members are discussed below in 10.5.

There are significant phonological restrictions in the pairing recorded above:

i. Most singular sets may be paired with set 2 which is realized by the 'neutral' prefix a-.

ii. Singular sets with the prefix o-/o-, or with the prefix N- matched by 'labial' agreement kw/w, may be paired with plural sets with the prefix i-, or N- with 'palatal' concord elements s/j.

iii. Singular sets with the prefix i-, or N- with 'palatal'

concord elements s/j, may be paired with plural sets with the prefix o-/ɔ-.

Singular sets with the rounded prefix o-/ɔ-, or having labial concord elements may therefore be paired with plural sets with the prefix i- or having palatal concord elements and vice versa.

Most singular sets may also be paired with the plural set having the neutral prefix a-.

The following chart provides a tabular representation of this pairing. Numbers within the matrix indicate the number of nouns of each class so far recorded.

		i- s/j set 8	N- s/j set 10	o- f/v set 6	a- p/b set 2	<u>PLURAL SETS</u>
set						
SINGULAR SETS	e- c/d 3		310		68	
	i- s/j 8			106	12	
	N- s/j 10			6		
	o- f/v 6	3			8	
SINGULAR SETS	o- kw/w 1	12	4		420	
	N- kw/w 5		3		12	
	a- kw/w 11				11	

#### 10.4 Semantic correspondences

Very few generalizations can be made about the membership of each class. The following observations summarize semantic resemblances among the members of each class.

- i. Concord-class 1/2 corresponds to Meinho's Bantu mu-/ba class. Most nouns with personal, human connotation belong to this class. eg. ò-vá:r 'chief'      ò-bìrà 'slave'  
ò-bàsè 'Ibo man'

Other personal nouns also belong to sets with labial concord elements kw/w. eg.

ĩ-ĩwà	set 5	'child'
ń-n:à	set 5	'older woman'
à-kà	set 11	'mother (possessive form)'

In animal fables the personalized hero, usually é-kwòr 'tortoise', although having the noun prefix e-/ε- as for set 3, occurs with concord elements as for set 1 and often with the person prefix o-/ɔ- in matching verbal forms.

ii. Many nouns denoting animals belong to classes 3/2 or 3/10.  
eg. è-béá 'cutting grass' plural à-béá  
è-cè 'leopard' à-cè or ñ-cè (alternative)  
è-fá 'dog' ñ-fá  
è-kándè 'cat' ñ-kándè

iii. Nouns denoting limbs belong to set 1/10.

eg.	ò-bó:k	'hand, arm'	plural	ṁ-bó:k
	ò-tá:k	'thigh'		ṁ-tá:k
	ò-bò	'leg'		ṁ-mò

iv. There are a number of nouns which do not have a singular and a plural form. These mostly have an abstract or a liquid connotation. The most significant comprise:

a) nouns with a verb-root stem (9.1312)

having the feature abstract belong to set 2

eg. á-bár-ádá 'bigness'

having the feature reaction belong to set 8

eg. ì-dèdà:mà 'happiness'

having the feature common      belong mostly to set 3

eg. è-bé 'height'

b) nouns denoting liquids belong to set 2

[illegible]

### 10.5 Irregular forms

The following nouns occur with irregular forms or pairing. These are mostly nouns which occur very frequently.

- i. kwà-nòŋ (alternative form ì-kwà-nòŋ) 'woman' set 1 or 7  
 plu. pà-nòŋ set 2

The initial consonant appears to be historically derived from concord element A (set 1 and 2).

- ii. ñ-rwà 'child' set 5

The plural form ì-và has agreement as for set 2.

- iii. ò-ṭò:k 'thing' set 6 has plural form è-kpó set 4.

- iv. ó-kí'má 'yam' set 6, and ì-bòm 'yam' set 9 have the plural form è-cên set 4. ì-bòm is further irregular in that it occurs with the matching verbal prefix o-/ɔ-.

- v. ì-cò 'year' set 7, has the plural form ì-cò with agreement as for set 2.

### 10.6 Consonantal concord elements

Consonantal concord elements realize agreements as follows:

#### Concord element A

as relative marker (8.6)

as an element of the adverb ò-bá-kw-ê 'recently' (9.121)

#### Concord element B

as an element of the free pronoun (8.11)

#### Concord element C

as an element of the demonstrative (8.41)

as an element of the emphatic particle (9.11)

as an element of the numeral 1 (9.141)



10.7 Textual examples

The following examples illustrate the extent of concord running through the clause.

330.

ì-dìmá' s í-ci è-dén í-je è-dùk/ j-è j-o í-ci è-dén í-támé  
 calabash it-eat way it-bear it it-is it- way it-ripen  
 which fruit eat  
 noun r-m clause<sup>relative</sup> pro- noun  
 NP NP

NP<sup>s</sup> e-p VG NP<sup>c</sup> VG

ì-dìmá' 'calabash' set 8

'The calabash which first bears fruit is the first to ripen.'

331. ì-sè n-j-ó s-ê / j-é' ì-bóbo ì-d ì-tò ka ó-rá:ngà  
 blood that of-her it it-flowed it-fell in river  
 noun dem r-m pro- pro- noun  
 noun-noun root  
 NP NP  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG VG NP<sup>a</sup>

'That blood of hers, it was that which flowed down into the river.'

ì-sè 'blood' set 8

332.

á-gbá:n m-b-ó p ó-ṭe ó-bòn ó'-bón / b-è b-o á'-tíne' á-kú'ba'  
 family- those whom father he-begat they it- they-hold Akubha  
 group  
 noun dem r-m clause<sup>relative</sup> pro- noun  
 NP NP

NP<sup>s</sup> e-p VG NP<sup>c</sup>

á-gbá:n 'family group' set 2 'The patrilineal family are the ones who hold Akubha rite.'

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### TEXTS

Four texts from the corpus on which this analysis is based are given in this chapter. All are traditional folk stories of the narrative utterance type discussed in 4.22. Texts A, C and D were recorded by men of the village of Ovonum, Text B by a man from Ofukwa village. Both villages are in Adun clan and there are no significant dialectal differences.

Text A is analysed, according to grammatical structure, from the morpheme classes up to the sentence, Text B from the nominal phrase and verbal group to the sentence. The extent of each unit is shown by underlining, the class label of each unit being written under the line: eg.

\_\_\_\_\_ <sup>nuc</sup>  
clause imperative

Functions are shown, when relevant, by superscripts, and features of special interest by subscripts. Thus the above example reads 'clause, with the feature imperative, having nuclear function in the sentence.'

Broken lines \_ \_ \_ \_ are used to show the extent of a down ranked unit (also of the relative clause); Double broken lines ===== to show the extent of a unit functioning in linear recursive relation; Solid underlining \_\_\_\_\_ is used in all other instances. The full ranks of the hierarchy can therefore be recognized by the solid underlining. Annotations are spaced as each sentence requires to allow for recursion and down ranking.

Morpheme classes (in text A) are not underlined but all morpheme breaks are shown by hyphens and word boundaries by space. As elsewhere in the description /// indicates the end of a sentence unit and / indicates a phonological pause, also an intonation boundary.

Abbreviations are listed on page 314.

## Text A lines 1 and 2

respected-

ladies

it-adds

gentlemen,

please

plu.listen

ear

àbè-ń-n:à /

ò-ṭàrà

àbè-ṭáṭà / òṭòṭò

m-à-yóna

ì-tó:ṛ

1

honorific-  
prefix

noun-prefix

noun-root

person-  
prefix

verb-root

honorific-  
prefix

noun-root

intensive

plural-marker

juncture-prefix

verb-root

noun-prefix

noun-root

noun<sup>nuc</sup>

conj

noun<sup>nuc</sup>noun<sup>nuc</sup>=====  
NP=====  
NPVG<sup>imper-</sup>  
ativeNP<sup>c</sup>NP<sup>vocative</sup>  
complex:additiveclause<sup>nuc</sup>sentence<sup>hortatative</sup>

to story which I-will-tell-you here ///

ka

ó-sé'

kwé'

mè-ń-ṭá-bòṇà

mâ

2

relator

noun-prefix

noun-root

relative-marker

tense-marker

person-prefix

verb-root

pronoun-root

relator

VG

noun<sup>nuc</sup>clause<sup>relative</sup>NP<sup>a/locative</sup>

"Ladies and gentlemen, pray listen to the story which I am now about to tell you.

Adun	it-is	they-say	that	if-you-know	farm-going-time.	
à-dón	b-o	á-bě̀n'	bé	[ á-sòŋ	ó-yìná-gbé	/ 3
noun-prefix	proper-name-root	concord-element-C	emphatic-particle-root	person-prefix	verb-root	noun-prefix
				verb-root		noun-root
			link			noun-nuc
				person-prefix	verb-root	noun-complex
				VG	NP <sup>C</sup>	
proper-name				clause	subordinate	
NP <sup>s/cont-</sup> rast-	e-p	VG		----->		
				sentence		
clause <sup>nuc</sup>						
speech-composite:indirect						
sentence <sup>initiative</sup>						

you-will-know returning-time

m-á-sóna ò-kwùná-gbé ] ///

4

tense-marker	person-prefix	verb-root	noun-prefix	verb-root	noun-root
			noun-nuc		noun-complex
VG			NP <sup>C</sup>		

clause<sup>nuc</sup>

Y -----

Y -----

Y -----

"It is the Adun people  
who say that if you know  
the time to go to farm,  
then you know the time to  
return.

## Text A continued lines 5 and 6

person, she-took child of-her she-went mushrooms in evening  
 ò-nòŋ-è / ó-tím ŋ-ŋwà kw-ê / ò-yìn à-róò ka é'-sò:ká/// 5

noun-prefix noun-root final-marker	person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root relative-marker pronoun-root	person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root	relator noun-prefix noun-root
noun <sup>nuc</sup>		noun <sup>nuc</sup>		noun <sup>nuc</sup>	noun <sup>nuc</sup>
NP <sup>s</sup> /focus	VG <sup>init-</sup> iative	NP <sup>c</sup>	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	NP <sup>a</sup> /time-pun- ctiliar
=====			=====		
clause			clause		

clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
 complex: accompaniment-expansion

sentence<sup>initiative</sup>

plu.-they-reach to bush, mushrooms	they-grow on grave
m-à-à-à-pyirè sa é'-gbá / à-róò á-mèn ka é'-pé-kwúk-ê /// 6	
plural-marker person-prefix auxiliary-verb-root person-prefix verb-root	relator noun-prefix noun-root noun-prefix noun-root person-prefix verb-root relator noun-prefix noun-root noun-root final-marker
	noun <sup>nuc</sup> noun <sup>nuc</sup> noun <sup>nuc</sup> noun <sup>complex</sup>
VG	NP <sup>a/loc-</sup> ative NP <sup>s</sup> VG NP <sup>a</sup> /locative
clause <sup>preliminary</sup>	clause <sup>nuc</sup>

sentence<sup>sequential</sup>

"There was once a person, she took her child and went mushrooming one evening. When they reached the bush, the mushrooms were growing on a grave.

Text A continued lines 7 and 8

woman	that	she-will-say	she-should-use	hand	she-pluck	mushrooms	those
ì-kwà-nòn	n-w-ó	m-ó-bé	[ó-tíma	ó'-bó:k	ó-şó:bó	á'-rób	m-b-ó]/ 7
noun-prefix = = = noun-root = = = noun-root	demonstrative-prefix concord-element-C demonstrative-root	tense-marker person-prefix verb-root	person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root noun <sup>nuc</sup>	person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root noun <sup>nuc</sup>	dem.-prefix concord-e-C dem.-root demonstrative
			VG <sub>purpose</sub>	NP <sup>c/acc</sup>	VG <sub>purpose</sub>	NP <sup>c</sup>	
			=====		=====		
			clause			clause	
noun <sup>nuc</sup>	demons-		clause <sup>nuc</sup>				
noun <sup>complex</sup>	trative		complex:accompaniment-expansion				
NP <sup>s</sup>		VG <sub>future</sub>					
			sentence				
clause <sup>nuc</sup>							
speech-composite:indirect							
=====							
sentence							
sentence							
complex:tense-sequential:future/non-perfect							

mushrooms	those	they-began	song	to-sing		
á'-rób	m-b-o	á-tòma	é-mòr	ò-kèkò:n	///	SONG
noun-prefix noun-root noun <sup>nuc</sup>	dem.-prefix concord-e-C dem.-root demonst- rative	person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root noun <sup>nuc</sup>	person-prefix verb-root		
NP <sup>s</sup>		VG	NP <sup>c</sup>			
			+secondary-action/neutral			
clause <sup>nuc</sup>						
=====						
sentence						

"The woman was going to pluck the mushrooms with her hand, but the mushrooms began to sing a song. SONG."



Text A continued

lines 11 and 12

may-I- grow	quickly	may-I- come-tell	friends-small	stories	
m̄-bár	é̄bár é̄bár	ñ-kwu n-ṭá	á-yò(k)-và-va	á-sè	///
person-prefix verb-root	adverb	person-prefix verb-auxiliary- root person-prefix verb-root	noun-prefix noun-root noun-root diminutive- suffix	noun-prefix noun-root	11
			noun <sup>nuc</sup> noun <sup>complex</sup>	noun <sup>nuc</sup>	
VG <sub>purpose</sub>	adverb	VG <sub>purpose</sub>	NP <sup>c</sup>	NP <sup>c</sup>	
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	
clause <sub>subjunctive</sub>		clause <sub>subjunctive</sub>			
clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial-expansion					
sentence <sub>hortative</sub>					

"May I grow quickly and come and tell  
my small friends stories. That's all."

story-closer

dèdèkwók-ě

narration-marker



Text B lines 1-3

ADDRESS REPLY once sun it-is-with river they-walk  
 màtâ /// ètènâ /// wá / è-wù-cèn ò-má:na ó-rà:na / m-à-sén 1  
 narration-markers

temporal-NP conjunction NP  
 particle

NP<sup>s/focus</sup> complex:non-additive VG<sup>initiative</sup>

clause<sup>nuc</sup> initiative/neutral

sentence initiative

friendship plenty as plu.they-walk f'ship that sun  
 í-yòk mâtètèmá: /// cé m-á-sén í-yòk n-j-ó / è-wù-cèn 2  
 NP<sup>c</sup> adverb<sup>a</sup> NP

sub-ordinat-ing-link VG NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>s/contrast</sup> complex:ap-positional

clause subordinate clause<sup>nuc</sup>

sentence

he-only it-is he-used-to-come he-visit river day every  
 d-é d-è d-o é-d è-kwu é'-díb ó-rà:na /// è-wu kpènákpén/3  
 NP

e-p VG<sup>habitual</sup> NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>temporal</sup>

sentence sequential

"Once the sun and the river, were great friends. At the time that they were friends, the sun alone used to go and visit the river. Every day...."

## Text B continued lines 4-6

if-friend he-ill-him river he-ill-him sun he-come he-visit-him  
 ó-yók ò-m:-ê / ( ò-rà:ṣà ò-m:-ê )/ è-wù-cèn è-kwu é'-mín-é///4

NP<sup>S</sup>

VG

NP<sup>S</sup>

VG

NP<sup>S</sup>

VG

clause<sup>subordinate</sup>(clause<sup>parenthesis</sup>)clause<sup>nucleus</sup>sentence<sup>sequential</sup>

if-sun he-ill-him he-remained river there he-wouldn't-go  
 é-wù-cèn è-m:-ê / è-kpóṣá' / ò-rà:ṣà sá m-ò-tá /// 5

NP<sup>S</sup>

VG

VG

NP<sup>S</sup>rel-  
atorVG<sup>negative/non-past</sup>clause<sup>subordinate</sup>clause<sup>nuc</sup>clause<sup>nuc</sup>

=====

=====

sentence

sentence

sentence<sup>complex:polarity-contrast</sup>

and-so-on it-reach day one sunsun he-angry-him  
 mátètémá:/ ó-túm è-wù d-àné+ò / è-wù-cèn è-dòk-è /// 6

conjunction VG

NP<sup>O</sup>NP<sup>S</sup>

VG

clause<sup>preliminary  
temporal</sup>clause<sup>nuc</sup>sentence<sup>sequential</sup>

!if his friend was ill, (that is, if the river was ill), the sun  
 went to visit him. If the sun was ill, he stayed at home but  
 the river wouldn't go there. Until one day the sun was angry.



who I-come visit to you to house me, even- if it-ill-me 10  
 (kw) ñ-d ñ-kwu é'-kíkèn kí' k-ó' ka ó-şş:m/// k-à-m/ şà:be ó-m:a-m  
 VG NP<sup>c</sup> NP<sup>a</sup>/locative NP<sup>c</sup>/focus sub-link VG  
 diffuse  
 clause<sup>relative</sup> → clause<sup>subord</sup> in<sup>ite</sup>.  
 suppositional  
 sentence

plenty year whole me you- won't-greet house of-me you-do- not-know 11  
 mátètémá: / ì-cò kí'búñó / k-á:-m m-à-símá///ó-şş:m kw-à-m k-á-sörj]///  
 adverb<sup>a</sup> NP<sup>a</sup>/time-dur- NP<sup>c</sup> VG neg/non- NP<sup>c</sup> VG neg/past  
 ation past  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
 sentence

he-said-  
 river said-him that you you-want visit of-me ?  
 ò-rà:ŋa ò-bèn-è bé [k-ɔ à-róro é-kíkèn c-á:-m-ð] /// 12  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> final-marker  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> initiative  
 sentence<sup>question:polar</sup>  
 NP<sup>s</sup> VG link utterance  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup> speech-composite:direct  
 sentence<sup>sequential</sup>

"...who come to visit you at home? As for me, even if I were ill for a whole year, you wouldn't greet me. You don't know my house." The river said to him, 'You would like a visit from me?'

he-said	yes	he-put	day	he-gave-him	he-said	
ò-be	[fɛ̀-è] ///	ò-ke	è-wù	ò-nán-è	/	ò-bé
	<sup>final</sup> response	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	VG		VG
VG	utterance	clause	clause			
clause <sup>nuc</sup>	speech-comp- osite:direct	clause <sup>nuc</sup>	complex:benefactive- expansion	clause <sup>nuc</sup>	speech-comp- osite:direct	
		clause <sup>nuc</sup>	complex:serial-expansion			
sentence <sub>sequential</sub>		sentence <sub>sequential</sub>				
day so-and-so	prepare	body	I-come			
[è-wù mín:à mín:a /	do	f-fòr ///	ì-kwúma ] ///			
NP <sup>temporal</sup>	VG <sub>imper- ative</sub>	NP <sup>c</sup>	VG			
	clause <sup>nuc</sup>		clause <sup>nuc</sup>			
sentence <sub>hortative</sub>			sentence <sub>sequential</sub>			
utterance						
=====						
-----						
-----						

"He said, 'Yes.' He fixed a day with him and said, 'On such and such a day get ready. I am coming.'

## Text B continued lines 15-17

it-  
reached to day that sun he-prepared body he-swept place  
ó-túm ña è-wú' n-d-ó / è-wù-cèn è-do í-fòr / è-tá:ŋ í-byì 15

VG rel NP<sup>a</sup> / NP<sup>s</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup>  
===== clause ===== clause

clause preliminary temporal clause<sup>nuc</sup> complex: serial-expansion

sentence sequential

completely he- prepared house of-him plenty it-good he-said  
mápyír / è-do ó-ḡó:m kw-è má: / ò-jfè / ò-be 16

adverb<sup>a</sup> VG NP<sup>c</sup> adverb<sup>a</sup> VG VG  
===== clause ===== clause

>===== clause complex: result-extension ===== clause speech-

friend of-me he- comes here river he-about-to-go  
[ó-yòdíkóḡ kw-à:-m ó-kwú mâ]/// ò-rà:ṇà mén'-ó-ta ó-tá-ò / 17

NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>init</sub> rel NP<sup>s</sup> VG<sub>future:immin-ent</sub>

clause<sup>nuc</sup>

clause<sup>nuc</sup> future:

sentence initiative

sentence sequential

utterance

sentence complex: tense-sequential

>===== composite: direct

"When that day came the sun got ready, he swept the place completely and tidied his house until it was all in order saying, 'My friend is coming.' As the river was about to leave....



## Text B continued lines 21-23

they-were-singing that SONG sun he-said ha  
 m-á-d à-kò:n bé [SONG] /// è-wù-cèn è-bé [há: / 21

exclamation

NP<sup>s</sup> VG utterance

clause<sup>nuc</sup> speech-composite:direct

sentence<sub>sequential</sub>

22

friend of me he-comes here he-came he-came-stood at door-way  
 ò-yòdíkòb kw-à:-m ó-kwú mâ]/// è-yìn / è-kwu é'-bé ña ê'şó:m-m:à///

NP<sup>s</sup> VG rel

VG VG rel NP<sup>a</sup>/locative

clause<sup>nuc</sup> initiative/neutral

clause clause

sentence<sub>initiative</sub>

clause<sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial-expansion

sentence<sub>sequential</sub>

at  
 at-once that he-will-come-stand door-way he-will-come-turn  
 yínà yínà kwé' m-ó-kwu ó-bé ña ê'-şó:m-m:à / m-ó-kwu ó-báke 23

temporal contrast r-m VG<sub>future</sub> rel NP<sup>a</sup>/locative VG<sub>future</sub>

clause

clause

clause<sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial-expansion/future

sentence<sub>sequential</sub>

sentence<sub>complex:tense-sequential:future/perfect</sub>

"...were singing thus, SONG. The sun said, 'Ha, my friend is coming.'  
 He went to stand at the doorway. As soon as he came to the doorway,  
 before he could turn..."



## Text B continued lines 24-26

back to back-of-house river he-has- entered here he-surrounds  
 é-n:ám ka é'-pá-n:ám / ò-rà:ṇà k-ó-ṇw-à mâ / ò-bá:ba 24

NP <sup>c</sup>	rel	NP <sup>a/locative</sup>	NP <sup>s</sup>	VG	rel	VG
=====			=====		=====	
			clause <sup>nuc</sup> perfect		clause	
=====			=====		=====	
			sentence		clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:	
					=====	
					sentence	

back-of house: completely he-adds streams of-him he- says wow he-jumps  
 é'-pá-n:ám' mápyír ò-tàra ò-kèká' s-è /// ò-be [wô]/ò-gbe 25

NP <sup>c</sup>	adverb <sup>a</sup>	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	excl- amation
=====		=====		
		clause		
=====		=====		
		VG	utter- ance	VG
=====		=====		
		clause	clause	
		clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial- expansion		
=====		=====		
		sentence sequential		

jump he-went to him to bed he-sat seat river  
 é-kwúrá / ò-sèṇà sí' k-é' ka é'-bín /ò-níṇa é-wòr/// ò-rà:ṇa 26

NP <sup>c</sup>	VG	rel	NP <sup>a/locative</sup> diffuse	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	NP <sup>s</sup>
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
	clause			clause		clause
=====			=====			
clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial-expansion			clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:			
=====			=====			

"..back behind the house, the river had entered there, surrounding the back of the house completely along with his streams. He said, 'Wow!' and jumped onto his bed and sat down. The river...

## Text B continued lines 27-29

he-	enter	completely	plenty	he-climbed	on beam	sun	he-ran	27
ò-ŋwà	mápyír	mátètémá:	/	ò-d	ò-vúrá	sa ñ'-cícá///	è-wù-cèn è-rób	
VG	adverb <sup>a</sup>	adverb <sup>a</sup>		VG	rel NP <sup>a</sup>	NP <sup>s</sup>	VG	
=====				=====		=====		
				clause		clause		
serial-expansion						clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:		
						sentence <sub>sequential</sub>		

he-is-on	on roof	at-once	river	he-has-entered	all	28
ò-nàné	sa í'-púbá:ŋ	///	yínà yínà ña ô-rà:ŋà	ķ-ś-ŋw-à	mápyír	
VG	rel NP <sup>a/locative</sup>	temporal	NP <sup>s</sup>	VG	adverb <sup>a</sup>	
=====		=====				
		clause				
serial-expansion		clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:result				
		sentence <sub>sequential</sub>				

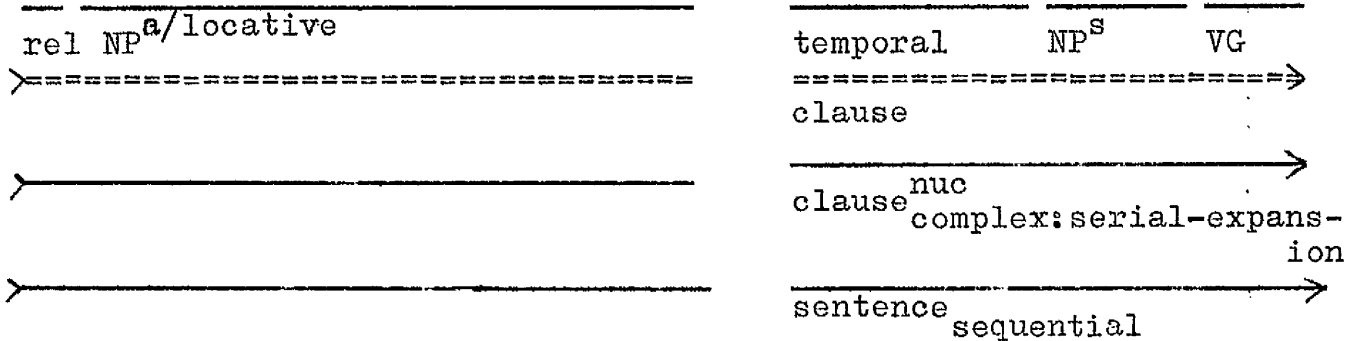
plenty	he-covered	houses	completely	sun	he-ran	he-climbed	29
mátètémá:	/	ò-ěóro	í-şó:m'	mápyír	///	è-wù-cèn è-rób é-d è-vúrá	
adverb <sup>a</sup>	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	adverb <sup>a</sup>	NP <sup>s</sup>	VG	VG	
=====	=====			=====		=====	
	clause			clause		clause	
				clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:serial-expansion			
				sentence <sub>sequential</sub>			

"...entered everywhere in abundance and climbed up to the beam. The sun ran off and got on to the roof. In no time the river had come in everywhere until he completely covered the houses. The sun ran off and climbed!...

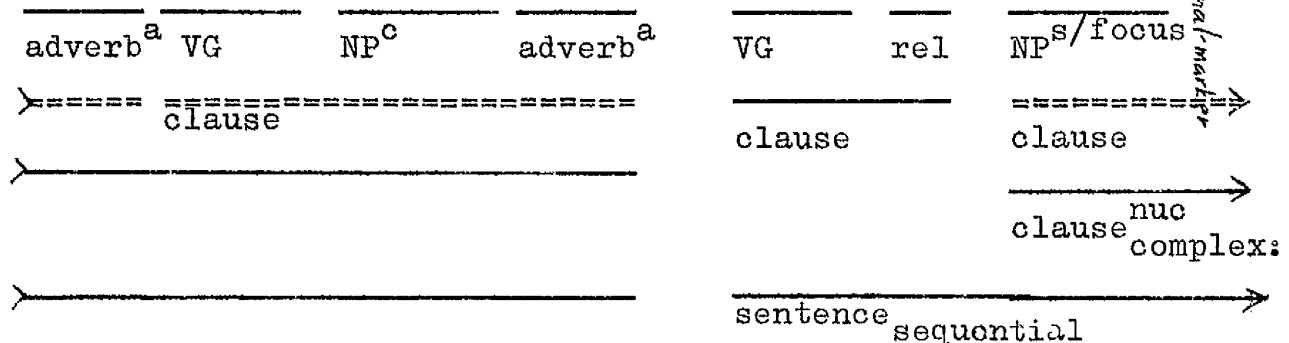
Text B continued lines 30-32

30

to tree-top which it-high very at once river he-entered  
 sa ê'-cí-şó c é-gòrş' kí'dá:m /// yínà yínà ña ô-rà:ŋa ô-ŋwà

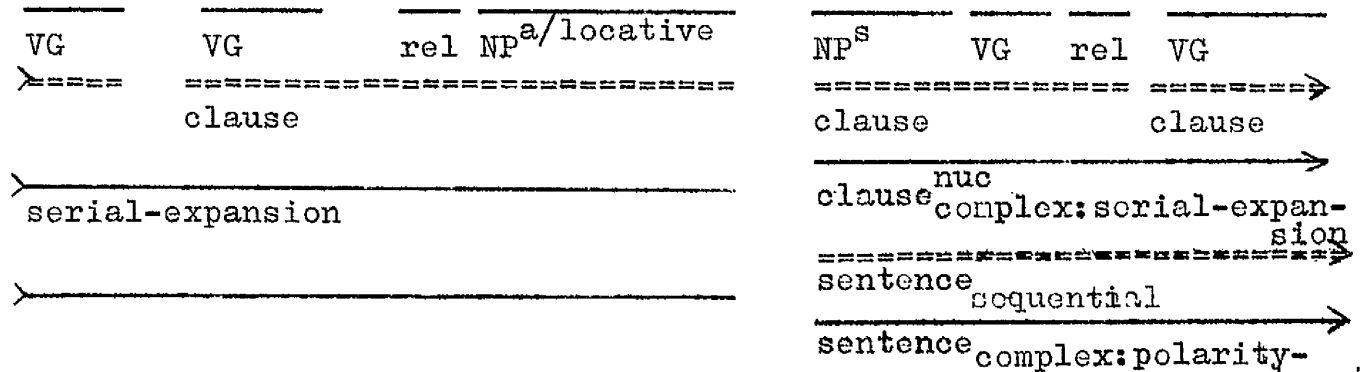


all he-covers tree-tops all it-comes there sun  
 mápyír ó'-bóro á'-cí-şó mápyír /// ô-fóná' ñà / è-wù-cèn-ô / 31



32

he-ran he-climbed to sky river he-stood here up-at-him  
 è-rób / è-vúrá sa ô'-róŋ-kpákpá /// ô-rà:ŋa ô-bé mâ / ô-yá:ŋ-è



"...onto a very high tree-top. At once the river came in contrast everywhere and completely covered the tree tops. And so, the sun, he ran off and climbed up to the sky. The river stood there looking up at him....

on high	again there	he-didn't-reach	he-	snapped finger	he-gave-him
sa é'-rón / ò-dók	sà	k-ó-pyìré' ///	ò-ṭa é-nò:na	ó'-náṅ-è///33	
rel NP <sup>a</sup>	adverb <sup>a</sup>	rel VG <sub>neg/past</sub>	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	VG
=====			=====	=====	
			clause		clause
		clause <sup>nuc</sup> negative			
=====		=====	clause <sup>nuc</sup> complex:benefactive- expansion		
			sentence		sequential

he-said	surely	you-said	that	you-want	visit of me?	34
ò-bé /	[mba	à-béné	bé	á-róró	é-kíkèṅ c-â:-m ///	
	conjunction			VG	NP <sup>c</sup>	
				clause <sup>nuc</sup> initiative		
			VG	link	sentence <sub>initiative</sub>	
			clause <sup>nuc</sup> speech-composite:indirect/initiative			
			sentence <sub>initiative</sub>			
VG	utterance					
clause <sup>nuc</sup> speech-composite:direct						
sentence <sub>sequential</sub>						

Direct speech quotation continues to the end of line 36.

"...in the sky but he didn't reach there too. He snapped his fingers at him. He said, 'Surely you said you wanted a visit from me?'

Text B continued lines 35 and 36

today obligation you-be here you-see visitor  
 mēndà wúra à-nfɛ ma á'-se ó-kíkèn-nòŋ ] /// 35

temporal	temp-	VG	rel	VG	NP <sup>c</sup>
	oral-par-				
	ticle				

-----  
 clause

=====

-----  
 clause<sup>nuc</sup>  
 complex:serial-expansion/initiative

-----  
 sentence<sub>initiative</sub>

let-me-grow quickly may-I-come I-tell small-friends stories  
 m-bén ébár é-bár f-kwu n-ṭa á-yò(k)-và-va á-ṣè /// 36

See text A line 12.

"...Today you ought to be here to see your visitor.' Let me  
 grow quickly and come to tell my small friends stories."

Text C

Address Reply tortoise it-is he-is there he-tilled  
 màṭà /// ètènà /// é-kwòr w-ɔ ó'-nfɛ nà /// ò-túb 1

farm all all plenty farm it-finish farm that 2  
 ó-wòns' mápyír mápyír mātètèmá: / ò-wòns' ó'-ṣá /// k-ó-wòns' n-w-ó

he-had-tilled-finished, he-took he-sold to-elephant  
 ó'-túb-á'-kpó / ò-tóka ó-kpe ò-ni /// 3

"Listen." "We're listening!" "There was once a tortoise. He tilled  
 a farm, he kept on and on tilling until the farm was finished.  
 When he had finished tilling the farm, he sold it to an elephant."

he-sold to-elephant then, elephant he-said-to-him that  
 ó-kpe ó-ñl ñá-ò / ò-ñi ò-bèn-è bé / 4

you as you you-do thus, as farm this it-will-be here, you  
 [k-ò c' k-ò á'-s'í' mìn:â//c ó-wó'nó ñ-w-à m-ó-ní,á má / k-ò 5

you-will-come-pluck things those he-said huh who it-is  
 m-á-d' á-kwu á-pa é'-kpó m-by-ó]/// ò-bé [ cá / à-ñi w-ò 6

he-sells person farm, he-again he-come-pluck things  
 ó-d ò-kpe ò-nò, ò-wò'nó' / ò-bira ò-kwu ó'-pa é'-kpó 7

on him on farm? elephant he-said ah he-bought farm that  
 ñí' k-é' ka ó-wó'nó-ò] /// ò-ñi ò-bé / [àà] / ò-dé ò-wò'nó' ñ-w-ò///  
 8

so it-rested there it-was there he-will-go he-will-reach  
 sô / ò-ní,á ñà /// ó-ní, ñà-ò / m-ó-fóná' / m-ó-d ô-pyirè /  
 9

tortoise things he-has-plucked all he-got-up he-went divination  
 é-kwòr k-é-kpo ò-p-á' mápyír /// ò-bína ó-yìn è-bó:k ///  
 10

he-went divination there, diviner he-told-him that  
 ó-yíne è-bó:k ñá-ò / ò-bó:ñá-nó, ò-tèk-è bé / 11

go carve stick all, you-take gum you-apply there like  
 [sò:ñ' gwa é'-cí mápyír / à-tóka ó-rà:k à-bé ñà mác 12

"When he sold it to the elephant, the elephant said to him, 'You, this is what you are doing. As this farm is here, you will come and harvest those things.' He said, 'Huh, who would sell someone a farm and then come and pick the things from his farm?' The elephant said, 'Ah', and bought the farm. So, the matter rested like that. As it rested thus, (the elephant) went there and found that the tortoise had already picked everything. He went off to consult divination. When he went to consult divination, the diviner told him, 'Go and carve a stick, take gum and apply it like....

Text C continued lines 13-20

human-being elephant he-returned divination that he-returned there  
 ó-yók'-ó-nô ] /// ò-ñi ò-kwùna è-bó:k n-d-ó /// ó-kwún ñà-ó /  
 13

he-went-did thus all he-did thus all, tortoise he-went  
 ò-d ò-şì mín:á' mápyír /// ó-şí' mín:á' mápyír-ò / é-kwòr ò-fóná  
 14

in evening that he-will-go he-asked you who it-is you-stand  
 ña ẽ'-só:ká n-d-ó /// m-ó-fóná / ò-d ò-bóş [k-ɔ ă'-ñí' w-ɔ á'-bé'  
 15

he-  
 there he-silent as silent there he-got-up he-struck-him hand  
 ñà] /// ò-myi mác ó'-myí' ñà /// ò-bíná' / ò-d ò-tèm-é' ɔ-bó:k /  
 16

he-said leave-me hand if-future I-hit-you left-hand my  
 ò-bé [ tèt-m ó'-bó:k /// é-şa ñ-şàɪ-ɔ ô-bír-ó-bó:k kw-aí-m' 17

plunk you-will-die tortoise he-also he-struck-him hand  
 bé kpô / m-á-pe ó'-pé ] /// é-kwòr-ó / ò-bira ò-bín'-é' ɔ-bó:k /  
 18

left-hand that it-stayed hands those two they-stayed he-said  
 ó-bír-ó-bó:k ŋ-w-ɔ ó'-kpóŋá' / m-bó:k n-j-ɔ m-fa ì-kpóŋá' /// ò-bé  
 19

leave-me hand if-I-hit-you leg you-will-die he-kicked-him leg  
 [tèt-m ó'-bó:k-ò /// m-f-ɔ ô-bò / m-á-pe ó'-pé-ò] /// ò-f-é ɔ-bò /  
 20

"...a human being.' The elephant came back from the divination. When he came back from the divination he did all this. When he had done all this, the tortoise went out that evening. As he was about to go he asked, 'Who are you standing there?' It was silent as can be. He got up and beat him with his hand. He said, 'Let go of me. If I strike you with my left hand plunk, you will die.' The tortoise, he struck him again and his left hand stuck, both his hands stuck. He said, 'Let go of me. If I kick you, you will die.' He kicked him...

Text C continued lines 21-28

leg it-stuck he-said leave-me hand if-future I-also I-hit-you  
 ò-òò ò-rà:kè /// ò-bé [tè-m ó'-bó:k-ò /// ó-şa ń-bìr ń'-f-ò 21

leg other you-will-die he-also he-hit-him leg other  
 ô-bò ɲ-w-ó-kà / m-á-pe ó'-pé-ò ] /// ò-bìra ò-f-é o-bò ɲ-w-ó-kà / 22

leg other it-also it-stuck day it-dawned there elephant  
 ò-bò ɲ-w-ó-sa ò-bìra ò-rà:kè /// è-wu è-şóò ńà-ó / ò-ńi 23

he-met tortoise there he-said haa friend tortoise  
 ò-kèba é-kwòr ńà / ò-bé [ há / á'yi é-kwòr / 24

me you-have-surprised you past you-sold-me farm this  
 k-á:m' á-f-à-è /// k-ò wèndo á'-kpé-m' ó-wòńó' ɲ-w-à /// 25

now you-again you-turn you-come-pluck things behind behind  
 mâ n-á-bír à-à à-báké / à-kwu á'-pa é'-kpó ka ń-n:ám ń-n:ám / 26

me you-won't-tell unfortunately you you-are-bad character thus  
 k-ă:m m-à-ték /// sán k-ò à-pyib é-má:ná mín:á-ò] /// 27

let-me-grow quickly I-come I-tell small-friends stories  
 ń-bár ébár ébár ɲ-kwu ń-ta á-yò(k)-và-va á-şè /// 28

that's all place where chiefs swing they- they-do-  
 slaves not-swing  
 dèdèkwók-e / ì-byì ş á-vá:r á-yò:nó' / à-bìrà k-á-yò:nó' ///

"..the leg stuck. He said, 'Let go of me. If I kick you with the other leg too, you will die.' He kicked him with the other leg, the other leg stuck too. When day dawned, the elephant found the tortoise there. He said, 'Haa, friend tortoise, you surprise me. Some time ago you sold me this farm. Now you turn round again and come and pick the things behind my back without telling me. It is a pity you are such an evil character!' May I grow quickly and come to tell my small friends stories. That's all. The place which chiefs frequent, slaves do not frequent."



Text D lines 1-8

- Address Reply Once blind-man one he-is  
 màtâ /// ètènâ /// wá / ò-kpa-ì-cèn-nòr, w-ànc ò-nfɛ-ê / 1
- who he-used-beg thing before he-ate he-was-called  
 kw ó-d ò-pyèm ò-ṭò:k pírá n-ó-ci-ê /// ò-kpènà bɛ 2
- if-you-do evil, you-do you-give body of-you if-you-do good  
 [á'-ṣi é-pyí'bá' / á-ṣi á'-nán í-fòr ṣ-ô / á'-ṣi é-jí'bá' / 3
- you-do you-give body of-you now day every he-travelled  
 á-ṣi á'-nán í-fòr ṣ-ô] /// má-ò / è-wù kpènánkpèn / ò-sèṇà 4
- to people to house-door he-begged food  
 ña á'-nón' ka í-ṣó:m'-m:à / ò-pyèm ó-ci-á-ṭò:k /// 5
- song of him all he-used-to-sing thus that if-you-do evil  
 è-mòṇ c-é' mápyír / ó-d ó-kò:n mín:á' bɛ [á'-ṣi é-pyí'bá' / 6
- you-do you-give self of-you if-you-do good you-do you-give  
 á-ṣi á'-nán í-fòr ṣ-ô / á'-ṣi é-jí'bá' / á-ṣi á'-nán 7
- body of-you it-reached to day one he-went-begged  
 í-fòr ṣ-ô ] /// ó-túm' ka é-wú' d-ànè / ò-d ò-pyèm 8

"Listen!" "We're listening." "Once there was a blind man who used to beg things to eat. He was called, 'If you do evil, you do it to yourself, but if you do good, you do it to yourself.'

Now, each day he went from door to door begging for food. The song he used to sing was always, 'If you do evil, you do it to yourself, if you do good, you do it to yourself.' On a certain day he went and begged....

Text D continued lines 9-16

father one food whom he-used-formerly he-beg unfortunately  
 ó'tátà w-àné ó-ci-á-ṭò:k / kw ó-d ò-kìkèn ò-pyèm /// sán 9

father that snake he-had-caught in bush he-tied in parcel  
 ètátà ŋ-w-ó / k-í-jò:k ò-d ò-bók-á sa é'-gbá / ò-dáb ka í'-kwá' 10

all blind-man that he-came-reached he-took snake  
 mápyír/// ò-kpa-ì-cèn-nòŋ ŋ-w-o ó-kwu ó'-pyíré / ò-tóka í-jò:k 11

he-put-to-him in pocket he-said therefore if-he-will-put  
 ò-yík-è ña é'-kpá / ò-bé [ mfa / é'-m-ó-d ó-nò:ma 12

hand in pocket that he-should-take food snake that  
 ó'-bók ña é'-kpá' bé / ó-tóka ó-ci-á-ṭò:k / ò-jò:k n-j-o 13

it-would-bite-him he-would-die to-him snake that he-had-put  
 í-gá:k-è / ó-pé /// k-é' i-jò:k n-j-o ó'-yík-á'-ò / 14

blind-man that hand in him in pocket he-didn't-put  
 ò-kpa-ì-cèn-nòŋ ŋ-w-ó / ò-bók ñí' k-é' ka é-kpá' k-ó'-nó:m' /// 15

he-was-about-to-go children of father that, people two  
 mén'-ó-bán ó-báná / ò-và p é'tátà ŋ-w-ó / à-nòŋ à-fà / 16

"...food from a certain father whom he had begged from before. Unfortunately that father had caught a snake in the bush and tied it up in a parcel. When the blind man came there, he took that snake and put it in his pocket saying, 'If he puts his hand in his pocket to take the food, the snake will bite him and he will therefore die.' After he had put the snake in his pocket, the blind man didn't put his hand in his pocket. As he was about to go, the two children of that father....

Text D continued lines 17-24

they-met on path who they-return school  
 m-á-tèmà sa é'-dén / pé m-á-kwùn ɛ̃-ɛ̃wèr /// 17

hunger them it-had-caught they-saw person that there  
 ò-kwò ké'-bé' ɔ-ká:m-á' /// m-à-se ó-nòɲ ɛ̃-w-ó ńá-ò / 18

he-said friend, somethimes person that he-comes from father  
 ò-bé [ á-yì / ńnòɲi ó-nòɲ ɛ̃-w-o ó-fón sa á'-tɛ́ 19

of-us from house there that he-used-to-beg food  
 kw-áminà ka ó-ṣɔ:m /// sá' kw ó-d ò-pyèm ó-ci-á-ṭó:k-è ///  
 20

if-we-will-put hand in in him in pocket surely us he-won't-see  
 ń'-m-ó-d ó-nò:ma ó'-bó:k ńí' k-é' ka é-kpâ / ńbà mìná m-ò-sé] ///  
 21

friend he-said let's-go then they-reached to place  
 ò-yòk ò-bé [ m-ò-fóná kè ] /// m-à-d á-pyìrè sa í'-byí' 22

where blind-man that he-is first-person that  
 ɕ ó-kpa-í-cèn-nòɲ ɛ̃-w-o ó'-nín' / ó-ci-é-dén-nón' ɛ̃-w-ó / 23

he-put-in hand snake that it-bit-him he-shouted voice  
 ò-nó:ma ó'-bó:k / ì-jò:k n-j-o í-gà:k-è /// ò-bòk è-mòɲ [aiaiaiai]  
 24

"... met him on the path as they were returning from school. They were hungry. When they saw that person there, one said, 'Friend, sometimes that person comes from our father's house. That's where he begs food from. If we were to put a hand in his pocket he surely wouldn't see us.' The other said, 'Come on then.' When they reached the place where the blind man was, the eldest put in his hand, the snake bit him. He shouted, 'Aiaiaiai.'

## Text D continued lines 25-33

he-fell friend he-said friend that you-do foolishness thus  
 ò-ṭò /// ò-yòk ò-bé [ á-yì / k-ò c á'-ṣi ó-lókó mìn:á ///25

hunger it-catches-us catches you-do foolishness  
 ò-kwo ò-ká:mé-mína ó'-ká:má / à-d à-ṣi ó-lókó ] /// 26

friend he-also he-put-in he-also he-yelled he-fell  
 ò-yòk ò-bíra ò-d ò-nó:má / ò-bíra ò-gòmà [aiaiaiai] / ò-ṭò ///  
 27

it-comes thus / they people two they-died death that  
 ò-fóná ñà / bé a-nòṇ à-fà m-á'-pé /// ò-bó ṇ-w-ó 28

which before father he-said that he-would-kill blind-man that  
 kwé wùra ó'-ṭé ó-běn' bé / [ó-fò ó-kpa-ì-cèn-nòṇ ṇ-w-ó] /  
 29

children of-him people two they they-instead they-die  
 ò-và p-é a-nòṇ à-fà bé' n-n-á-tér à-pé /// 30

that it-is it-is it-is-not-good that person think evil  
 ñá' w-o ó-ṣi-é / k-ó'-jǐbé' bé / [ ò-nòṇ ó-cíbe ó-pyí'ba 31

he-is-with person let-me-grow quickly I-come I-tell  
 ó'-má:na ó-nòṇ ] /// m-bén ébár ébár ṇ-kwu á-ṭa 32

small-friends stories that's all  
 á-yò(k)-và-va á-ṣè /// dèdèkwók-é 33

"He fell. His friend said, 'Friend, how foolishly you are acting! We are very hungry and you fool around.' He also put in his hand, he also cried out, 'Aiaiaiai' and fell. And so, these two people died. The death which the father had planned to kill the blind man, his own two children died instead. That is why it is not good that anyone should plot evil against another. May I grow quickly and come to tell my small friends stories. That's all."



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ABBREVIATIONS

a	adjunct	NP <sup>a</sup>	nominal phrase in adjunct relation
acc	accompaniment		
aux	auxiliary		
ben	benefactive		
c	complement	NP <sup>c</sup>	nominal phrase in complement relation
conj	conjunction		
dem	demonstrative		
d-r	down ranked		
e-p	emphatic particle		
gl	goal		
NP	nominal phrase		
nuc	nucleus		
pfx	prefix		
P-phrase	phonological phrase		
P-sentence	phonological sentence		
rec	recipient		
rel	relator		
res	resultative		
r-m	relative marker		
s	subject	NP <sup>s</sup>	nominal phrase in subject relation
sub	subordinate		
<b>sub-link</b>	<b>subordinating link</b>		
temp	temporal	NP <sup>temp</sup>	nominal phrase in temporal relation
voc	vocative	NP <sup>voc</sup>	nominal phrase in vocative relation
VG	verbal group		